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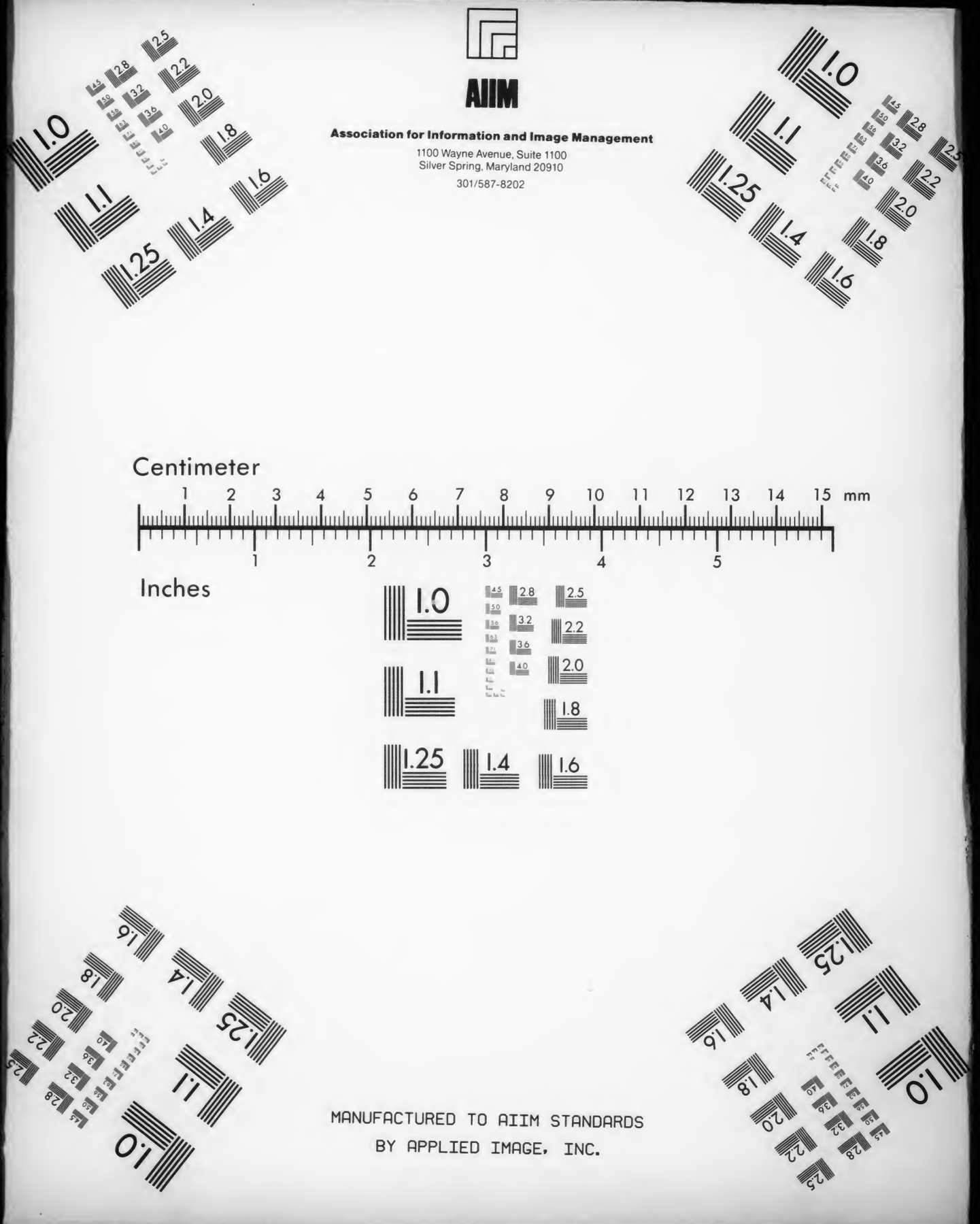
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Travel in Ancient Times as seen in Plautus and Terence

By CHARLES KNAPP

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TRAVEL IN ANCIENT TIMES AS SEEN IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.[1] I

By Charles Knapp

The purpose of this paper is to gather together all that the plays of Plautus and Terence can teach us concerning travel in ancient times, particularly in the time of Menander, Philemon, and Diphilos, that is, the time of the originals on which the plays of Plautus and Terence were based. It is hoped that the paper will itself be ample justification of its existence. If, however, further warranty is needed, we may find it in the words of a weighty authority:

> Was uns gleichfalls noch immer fehlt, ist eine Geschichte des Reisens im Altertum (für die Kaiserzeit liegt da freilich die treffliche Behandlung in Friedländers Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte vor) und im Zusammenhang damit eine neue Arbeit über die Fuhrwerke der Alten: denn seit dem längst antiquierten Buche von Ginzrot (vom Jahre 1817!) ist dieser Gegenstand ausführlich nicht mehr behandelt worden, so sehr sich das bildliche Quellenmaterial dafür seither vermehrt hat.[2]

I shall begin by discussing Plautine and Terentian geography, its extent, its accuracy or inaccuracy; I shall then consider all references to travel from point to point, assembling them into a few clearly defined groups; lastly, I shall take up a number of

[1] This paper was presented at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, at St. Louis, May 4, 1906.

[2] So H. Blümner in Kroll's *Die Altertumswissenschaft im letzten Vierteljahrhundert*, p. 370, in his review of the progress made between 1875 and 1900 in our knowledge of the private life of the Greeks and the Romans.

related topics, such as the reception accorded to travelers on their return home, their costume, baggage, etc.

Much is to be learned by determining the places at which the plays are supposed to be laid. All of Terence's plays are laid at Athens. Athens is the scene in twelve plays of Plautus; the others (I exclude the fragmentary *Vidularia*) are laid at Thebes, Aetolia (no city is named), Sicyon, Epidaurus, Epidamnus, Ephesus, Calydon, Cyrene. Here we have allusions to all quarters of the ancient world, Europe, Asia, and Africa. That Athens was thought of as the natural scene of the comedies is clear from the prologue to the *Menaechmi* 7–12.[1] For certain well-known reasons the *fabulae palliatae* must bear plainly the marks of their Greek origin: what place was more Greek than Athens?[2]

We may pass now to details and assemble the evidence by which we fix the sites of the individual plays. We shall consider first all plays whose action is supposed to take place at Athens.

For the *Asinaria* we have decisive evidence in 491, 492. In 792, 793, Diabolus desires that Philaenium nec ulla lingua sciat loqui nisi Attica. Since in the *Poenulus* a Carthaginian talks *Punice* at Calydon (930–49, 982, 995, 112), these verses would not *per se* prove that the *Asinaria* is laid at Athens, but they must be interpreted in the light of 491, 492. For the *Aulularia* see 808–10. In *Bacchides* 235, 236 Nicobulus says: ibo in Piraeum, visam ecquaen advenerit in portum . . . . navis. For the *Casina* the direct evidence is not strong. Verses 80–83 of the prologue (manifestly post-Plautine) run thus: quam servi summa vi sibi uxorem expetunt, ea invenietur et pudica et libera, ingenua Atheniensis. By themselves these verses give little help; in the *Miles* an ingenua Atheniensis is resident at Ephesus, in the *Rudens* another is at Cyrene. In the *Rudens*, again, Daemones and Plesidippus are Athenians, though now residents of Cyrene (35, 42). Still, there is point to *Cas.* 651, 652 only if the play is laid at Athens. Arg. 6, not in itself illuminating, derives light from Terence's practice.[1] For the *Epidicus* see 306, 307, 501, 502, 602, 26. In 448 some see in *Platenius* a reference to an Attic deme. For the *Mercator* we have sure indications in 836, 837, 944, 945. The fine narrative in 46–91 contains allusions to youthful visits by the Mercator's father (to Athens) to see the peplus at the Panathenaic festival. It contains also the technical Athenian word *ephebus*.[2] Verses 635–38, not clear in themselves, are illuminated by those named above. For the *Mostellaria* see 66, 67: ego ire in Piraeum volo, 30, 1072. For the *Persa* see 151. In 549–54 Sagaristio asks the *virgo*, who is supposed to be newly come from Persia, what she thinks of Athens. Verses 474, 475, 390–96 are now of value for us; in 390 ff. Saturio tells his daughter that he has a fine *dos* to give her, a librorum plenum soracum, containing sescenti logei atque Attici omnes. For the *Pseudolus* see 201, 202, 270, 339, 415–17, 620, 730, 731 (here Charinus offers to put at Pseudolus' disposal a slave, qui a patre advenit Carysto necdum exit ex aedibus quoquam neque Athenas advenit umquam ante hesternum diem). For the *Stichus* see 446–48, 649, 650, 669, 670. For the *Trinummus* see 1103, 1104: curre in Piraeum . . . . videbis iam illic navem qua advecti sumus. For the *Truculentus* see 497: nunc . . . . Athenas Atticas viso, 91, prologue 1–3, 10, 11.

For the *Andria* cf. 906, 907: Andrium ego Critonem video? . . . . quid tu Athenas insolens? For the *Eunuchus* see 107–10, 114, 115 (the girl was stolen ex Attica hinc, e Sunio). At 289, 290 Parmeno says: video erilem filium minorem huc advenire. miror quid ex Piraeo abierit, nam ibi custos publice est nunc; cf. also 539, 540. In 519 Chremes explains that Thais had asked him whether he had rus . . . . ecquod Suni et quam longe a mari. Vs. 1093, in itself not conclusive, now becomes pertinent. In 824 Chaerea is called *ephebus:* vss. 289, 290, cited above, show

[1] Considerations of space make it impossible to cite all passages *in extenso;* readers of this paper will of course have a copy of Plautus at hand. For convenience I have followed Lindsay's text (1904, 1905).

[2] In *Poe.* 372 an *Attic* citizen is to be made of a woman freed at Calydon (but the tone is that of burlesque).

[1] Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*, pp. 198, 199, notes that the Greek writers took no pains to indicate the site of their plays when that site was Athens. But when the play was laid elsewhere care is taken early in the play to make its location clear. In Plautus, however, aside from the prologues, the evidence in general comes rather late in the play. Terence's practice (see below, p. 4, n. 1) is, as might be expected, thoroughly Greek.

[2] See below, p. 14.

that we must take this term in its technical Athenian sense.[1] For the *Hecyra* see 86 ff.

We may consider now plays laid in places other than Athens. For varying sites of plays cf. *Men.* 72–76: haec urbs Epidamnus est dum haec agitur fabula: quando alia agetur aliud fiet oppidum, etc. The *Amphitruo* is laid at Thebes: cf. 190, 194, 259, 363, 365, 376, 676–78, 1046, frag. xvi, 97, 101. The *Captivi* is set in Aetolia (no town is named); at 93 ff., in a prologue-like speech, Ergasilus says: ita nunc belligerant Aetoli cum Aleis: nam Aetolia haec est; cf. 24, 59, 824. The *Cistellaria* is laid at Sicyon; cf. 156 fuere Sicyoni iam diu Dionysia. mercator venit huc ad ludos Lemnius (spoken by Auxilium, in a prologue-like passage), 125–30, 190, 176, 177. The *Curculio* is laid at Epidaurus: 561, 562 are clear. In 429 the banker Lyco reads a letter just handed to him by Curculio, which purports to come from a soldier in (at[2]) Caria: miles Lyconi in Epidauro hospiti . . . . salutem dicit (cf. 341). A fanum Aesculapi is part of the stage-setting (14, 62; cf. also 70, 204, 216, 217, 261, 270, 389,

[1] For the other Terentian plays there is no direct evidence. It is clear that to Terence Athens is the only site for a play; cf. Leo, as cited above, p. 3, n. 1. Indirect evidence is supplied by the passages in which a puella is declared to be or is proven to be a civis Attica: *And.* 221, 780, 859, *Eun.* 805, *Ph.* 114. With the same force civis is used alone: *Ad.* 725, *And.* 833, 875, 892. The *Periochae*, though not by Terence himself, may not be disregarded here; they show the interpretation of the plays current in the second century A. D. Cf., then, civis Attica, *Eun. Per.* 3; Atticus civis, *ibid.* 10, 11; relicto Athenis Antiphone filio, *Ph. Per.* 2 (*ibid.* 4, 6); civem Atticam, *Ad. Per.* 8. Cf. *Cas.* arg. 6.

What has been said will throw light on Terence's use of hic, hinc, huc, etc., of the place in which the play is laid or of motion to and from that place. For hic cf. *Ad.* 279, *Eun.* 759, 760: peregrinus est . . . . minus amicorum hic habens, *Ph.* 406, 450 (sometimes, however, hic merely=ruri, in the suburbs, as against in urbe: cf. *Ad.* 403, *Heaut.* 97, 162, 601, 629, *Hec.* 216 [contrast ruri, 215], 230, 597); for huc cf. *Ad.* 649: neque enim diu huc migrarunt, 673, *And.* 70: ex Andro commigravit huc viciniam (for huc, 'to the city,' see *Ad.* 435, 526); for hinc see *Ad.* 225, 384, 661, *And.* 221 (inserted by Dz), 833: illam hinc civem esse aiunt, *Eun.* 156, 952, *Heaut.* 165 (Dz), 446, *Hec.* 86–88: Corinthum hinc sum profecta . . . . edepol te desiderium Athenarum arbitror . . . . cepisse (for hinc of progress from city to country see *Ad.* 433, 435, 561, 841, 843, *Hec.* 586, 610, 613, 629). Cf. also hac urbe, *Ph.* 517; e patria, *Ad.* 275. More illuminating is *Eun.* 110: ex Attica hinc; cf. *Epid.* 602: hinc Athenis civis eam emit Atticus, *Mer.* 945: de amica se indaudivisse autumat hic Athenis esse. In *Cist.* 125–30, if with A we omit 126–29, we get adulescens quidam hic est adprime nobilis Sicyone.

We may note now that the *Heaut.* is laid in the suburbs (of Athens); cf. 63–74, 239, 732, etc. The reference to the Dionysia in 161, 162 is not *per se* decisive: see *Cis.* 156: fuere Sicyoni iam diu Dionysia.

[2] See below, p. 6, *s. v.* Caria.

527–32, 558, 699). The leno, Cappadox, is in the temple to be cured (61, 62, 216–22, 235–38). He has a dream (245–50, 253–59), which he recounts (260–63) for its interpretation (270–73). The *Menaechmi* is laid at Epidamnus (cf. 230, 258–67, 306, 380, 1000, 1004, arg. 6, prol. 33, 49, 51, 57, 70, 72). The *Miles* is laid at Ephesus (cf. 88, 111–13, 411, 412, 439, 440). Hence 777, 778: isque . . . . omnis se ultro sectari in Epheso memorat mulieres, in itself not conclusive, becomes pertinent. See also arg. i. 1–7, arg. ii. 1–4, arg. ii. 7–12. The *Poenulus* is set at Calydon in Aetolia (cf. 1179*a*–81). This passage lights up 1056, 1057, 621, prologue 72–78, 93–95. Lastly, the *Rudens* is laid at Cyrene (615–17, 712–16, 740, 741, 1338, prologue 33, 41).[1]

I pass now to give a complete list of the places mentioned in the plays. I shall group these places by continents. Further, an attempt will be made to divide the places in Europe into two classes, the first comprising those which belong to the Greek rather than to the Roman world, the second including places which seem specifically parts rather of the Roman world. For convenience the arrangement within the individual groups will be alphabetical.[2]

I. Places in Africa.

AEGYPTUS. See *Most.* 440, 994; *Mer.* 139: resinam ex melle Aegyptiam vorato (as a cure for the spitting of blood); *Mer.* 414, 415: ancilla Aegyptia; *Poe.* 1290, 1291: Aegyptini qui cortinam ludis per circum ferunt.

AETHIOPIA: *Eun.* 165: ex Aethiopia ancillulam, 471 ex Aethiopia usque haec.

AFRICA. In *Poe.* 1304 Antamoenides, seeing his amica embrace her father, of whose identity he is not aware, says: adire certum est hanc amatricem Africam. Cf. *Poe.* 1011: mures Africanos praedicat in pompam ludis dare se velle aedilibus.

[1] In fact the play is laid in the suburbs of Cyrene, near the shore; cf. the references to the villa, 34, 85, 101, etc.

[2] Terence mentions relatively few places: Asia, Babylon, Caria, Cilicia, India, Miletus, Aethiopia, Andros, Athenae, Attica, Corinthus, Cyprus, (Delphi? cf. *And.* 698: non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsumst), Imbros, Lemnos, Myconos, Rhamnus, Rhodos, Samos, Sunium. Of these Andros, Imbros, Myconos, Rhamnus, Sunium, Aethiopia are not mentioned in Plautus. Further, all the places belong to the Greek world.

ALEXANDRIA: *Pseud.* 147: Alexandrina beluata tonsilia tappetia.

ARABIA: *Per.* 506, 522, 541, *Trin.* 845, 933–35 (see below, p. 11, n. 1), *Tru.* 539: ex Arabia tibi attuli tus (cf. *Miles* 412, frag. 67, *Poe.* 1179), *Cur.* 443: Arabes, *Ba.* frag. xx: Arabus.

CARTHAGO: *Poe.* arg. 1, 66, 79, 900, 987, 989, 996, 1038, 1054, 1056, 1101 (1419, in the exitus alter), *Cas.* 71. Magara, a part of Carthage, is named in *Poe.* 86. Carthaginiensis is adjective in *Poe.* 59, 963, 1124, noun in *Poe.* 84, 987, 1377. Cf. also *Poe.* 53: Καρχηδόνιος vocatur haec comoedia. poenus is adjective in *Poe.* 991: nullus me est hodie Poenus Poenior, noun in *Cas.* 76, *Cis.* 202, *Poe.* arg. 7, 104, 113, 120, 991, 1125. Cf. also *Aul.* 566: lanterna Punica, *Poe.* 977: Punica (facies), 982 hosce . . . . appellabo Punice, 990 vin appellem hunc Punice? 983 Punice pergam loqui, 985 ecquid commeministi Punice? 1000 saluta . . . . Punice verbis meis.

CYRENAE: *Ru.* 33, 41. Cyrenensis is adjective in *Ru.* 713, 1338, noun in *Ru.* 615, 740. In *Pseud.* 816, *Ru.* 630 the reference to laserpicium points to Cyrene (see below p. 14).

MAGARA: see CARTHAGO above.

POENUS, PUNICUS. see CARTHAGO above.

II. Places in Asia.

ASIA. In the *Stichus* the brothers went on a trading trip to Asia (see 152, 367). So in *Trin.* 845 the sycophanta, posing as a messenger from Charmides (see below *s. v.* SELEUCIA), says: advenio ex Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia, atque Arabia. In *And.* 935, 936 we read that a man went in Asiam in part to escape war at Athens, in part to join his brother. In *Trin.* 598, 599, *Heaut.* 111, 117, 181 Asia (Minor) is mentioned in connection with campaigning. How loosely the name is used appears from *Trin. loc. cit.:* ibit . . . . latrocinatum, aut in Asiam aut in Ciliciam.

BABYLON: *Tru.* 84: Babyloniensis miles (cf. 202, 392), 472: militi Babylonio, *Stich.* 378: Babylonica (peristromata), *Ad.* 915: ille Babulo ('nabob').

CAPPADOCIA: *Miles* 52 (in the soldier's bragging).

CARIA: *Eun.* 126, *Heaut.* 608. In the *Curculio* a parasite goes from Epidaurus to some place called Caria: cf. arg. 1: it Cariam, 206 misi . . . . Cariam, 225 quia non rediit Caria, 339 rogat quid veniam Cariam, 67 in Cariam, 265 missust in Cariam, 329 perveni in Cariam.[1]

[1] Leo (*Pl. Forsch.*, p. 200, n. 2) finds a difficulty because the templum Aesculapi is set by Plautus within the town of Epidaurus; in fact, it lay miles to the west on the road to Argos. He holds, then, that Caria in this play is a town not far from Epidaurus. He concludes thus: "Wilamowitz vermuthet, dass der Schauplatz des Originals die Ansiedlung um das *ἱερόν* war und dass der Parasit nach Epidaurus geschickt wurde, um das Geld zu holen; dass Plautus dies für sein Publicum verwirrende Verhältniss umgeändert und die Stadt Caria hinzu erfunden hat." I feel sure, however, that to the Romans of Plautus' time *Caria*, unqualified, would have suggested only Asia Minor, not an unknown city near Epidaurus. König (*Quaestiones Plautinae*, Patschkau, 1883, pp. 6, 7), shows that with names of countries Plautus seldom omits prepositions (*Most.* 440: Aegypto, on which see Quint. i. 5. 38, *Cap.* 573: Alidem, *Cap.* 330: Alide (so 94), *Tru.* 540: Ponto seem the only exceptions. König criticizes Brix on *Cap.* 573, but approves Lorenz on *Most.* 440); hence he holds, p. 8, that Caria here is a town, not a country. Görbig (*Nominum quibus loca significantur usus Plautinus exponitur*, Halle, 1883, pp. 40, 41), agrees with König concerning the facts of Plautine usage, but argues that Plautus treated Aegyptus, Caria, and Pontus "simili ratione atque nomina singularia urbium," and so concludes that Caria is the country, not a town. Soltau (*Curculionis Plauti Actus III Interpretatio*, p. 27), takes the same view. Hüffner (*De Plauti exemplis Atticis*, p. 18), holds that Caria cannot be the country. He gives five reasons, of which the most important is that we read (206, 207, 143) that Curculio started *Cariam* but four days ago and yet is expected back today; the distance, he solemnly argues, could not be covered in that time. Further, no mention is made of a ship in the play. Yet, inasmuch as Plautus makes Philocrates in the *Captivi* go from Aetolia to Elis, effect there an exchange of prisoners, find a slave who disappeared twenty years before, and return to Aetolia all in one day, we need not distress ourselves because he talks of going from Epidaurus to Asia Minor and return in four days. For my own part, then, I incline to take Caria of the country (in Pl. the *soldier* is in Caria; in the Terentian passages, too, Caria is named in connection with soldiering: venimus in Cariam ex India, *Cur.* 438, points strongly to Caria in Asia); it would not be difficult to emend the passages which show *Cariam* or *Caria* without a preposition.

CILICIA: *Mi.* 42, *Tr.* 599: ibit . . . . latrocinatum . . . . in Ciliciam, *Ph.* 66 (Demipho was lured thither by promises of montes auri).

EPHESUS in *Ba.* 171, 231, 236, 249, 309, 336, 354, 388, 389, 561, 776, 1047 is the destination of a trading trip. In the *Miles* a soldier carries a meretrix ingenua against her will to Ephesus: arg. i. 1, arg. ii. 4, arg. ii. 7, 88, 113. See also *Mi.* 384, 439, 441, 975, 976, 648, 778. Ephesii is noun in *Ba.* 309; cf. also *Mi.* 411: Ephesiae Dianae, *Ba.* 307: Dianai Ephesiae.

INDIA: *Mi.* 25, *Cur.* 439, *Eun.* 413: elephantis quem Indicis (rex) praefecerat (all three passages give a soldier's or a parasite's lies).

IONIA: *St.* 769: Ionicus aut cinaedust, *Ps.* 1275 Ionica (dances); in *Pe.* 826, which involves the phrase *in Ionia*, there is another reference to dancing (see 824, 825).

MILETUS: *Cap.* 274: Thalem . . . . Milesium, *Ad.* 654, 655 (Mileti . . . . Miletum), 702 ille ubist Milesius?

PERSIA: *Pe.* 461, 498. For the noun *Persa* see *Cur.* 442, *Pe.* 506, 513, 676, 707, 718, 740, 783, 796, 828, 829 (the very name of this play is significant), *St.* 24–25: Persarum montis, qui esse aurei perhibentur. For the portus Persicus see below, p. 14, n. 1, middle paragraph.

PHRYGIA: *Tru.* 536: attuli eccam pallulam ex Phrygia tibi. Cf. phrygio, 'embroiderer,' *Aul.* 508, *Men.* 426, 469, 563, 618, 681. Add portae Phrygiae, of Troy, *Ba.* 955.

PONTUS: *Tr.* 933, 934 (see ARABIA, above, p. 6), *Tru.* 539, 540: attuli . . . . Ponto amomum.

SELEUCIA. Charmides, bent on strengthening his fortunes by trade, goes to Seleucia, *Tr.* 112, 771, 845, 901.[1]

SINOPE: *Cur.* 443.

SURIA (SYRIA): *Tru.* 530: ancillas . . . . ex Suria, 541 hasce . . . . Suras, *Mer.* 414, 415: ancillam . . . . Syram, *Tr.* 542: Surorum, genus quod patientissumumst hominum, *Cur.* 443. For *Surus*, *Sura* as slave names see below, p. 12, n. 4.

IIIA. Places in Europe belonging to Greek geography.

AETNA: *Mi.* 1065: tum argenti montes, non massas (habes), habet Aetina non aeque altos.

AETOLIA: *Cap.* 94. Aetolus is adjective in *Poe.* 621, 1057, noun in *Cap.* 24, 59, 93, 824. (Cf. also *Pe.* 3, where Aetolicus aper is named among the Herculis aerumnae.)

AGRIGENTUM: *Ru.* 50: Siculus senex, ... Agrigentinus.

ALIS (Elis): *Cap.* 9, 26, 94, 330, 379, 509, 544, 547, 573, 588, 590, 638, 973, 979, 1005, 1014. Aleus is adjective in *Cap.* arg. 3, 27, 31, 169, 875, noun in *Cap.* 24, 59, 93, 280. Alidensis is adjective *Cap.* 880.

AMBRACIA: *St.* 491.

ANACTORIUM: *Poe.* 87, 93, 896.

ANDROS: *And.* 70, 222, 923, 931. Andrius is adjective in *And. Per.* 2, 906, noun (in fem.) in *And.* 73, 85, 215, 461, 756.

ARCADIA: Arcadian asses are sold in Athens to a merchant from Pella, *As.* 333. For such asses cf. Persius iii. 9, Ausonius lxxvi. 3, Varro *R. R.* ii. 1, 14.

ARGIVI: so the Thebans are called in *Am.* 208 (the play belongs to the heroic age).

ATHENAE: *As.* 492, *Aul.* 810, *Ba.* 563, *Ep.* 26, 502, 602, *Men.* prol. 8, *Mer.* 945, *Mi.* arg. i. 1, arg. i. 5, 99, 100, 104, 114, 122, 126, 127, 132, 239, 384, 439, 451, 489, 938, 1146, 1186, 1193, *Mo.* 1072, *Pe.* 151, 549, *Ps.* 270, 339, 416, 620, 731, *Ru.* 35, 738, 739, 741, 746, 1105, 1111, *St.* 448, 649 (salvete, Athenae, quae nutrices Graeciae: cf. Pericles in Thuc. ii. 41. 1), 670, *Tru.* 3, 10, 91, 497, *And.* 907, *Hec.* 88, *Ph.* (thrice in the Periocha 2, 4, 6). Atheniensis is adjective in *Mi.* arg. ii. 2, 440, noun, perhaps, in *Cas.* 82, *Ru.* 1198. Attica is named in *Eun.* 110. Atticus is adjective often: (*a*) Athenae Atticae, *Ep.* 502, *Mi.* 100, *Ps.* 416, *Ru.* 741, *Tru.* 497; (*b*) civis Atticus, *Ep.* 602, *Mer.* 635 (in reverse order, Atticus civis, *Eun.* Per. 10, 11), civis Attica, *Poe.* 372, *And.* 221, 780, 859, *Ad.* Per. 8, *Eun.* Per. 3, 805, *Ph.* 114 (cf. Attica civitas *Pe.* 474); (*c*) in miscellaneous phrases: *As.* 793: lingua Attica, *Cas.* 652: Attica . . . . disciplina, *Ep.* 306: agro Attico, *Mer.* 837: ab Atticis abhorreo (sc. deis, Penatibus, Lare, urbe, civitate), *Mo.* 30: iuventute . . . . Attica, *Pe.* 395: logei . . . . Attici, *Ps.* 202*a*: iuventutem Atticam, *Ru.* 42: adulescens . . . . Atticus, 604 Philomela Attica (Leo), *Eun.* 1093: Atticam elegantiam. Atticus is noun in *Mi.* arg. ii. 4, *And.* 923, 927.

For references to the *Piraeus* see *Ba.* 235, *Mo.* 66, *Tr.* 1103, *Eun.* 290 539. Cf. also RHAMNUS, below.

BOEOTIA: *Mer.* 647.

CALYDON: *Poe.* 72, 94; 1181 Calydoniam Venerem.

CAPUA: *Ru.* 629–31: si speras tibi hoc anno multum futurum sirpe et laserpicium eamque eventuram exagogam Capuam salvam et sospitem.

CHALCIS: *Mer.* 646, 939.

CHIOS: vinum Chium, *Cur.* 78, *Poe.* 699.

CNIDUS: *Mer.* 647.

CORINTHUS: *Mer.* 646, *Heaut.* 96, *Hec.* 86, *Heaut.* 600 and 629: Corinthia anus, *Aul.* 559: Corinthiensis fons Pirena.

CRETA: *Mer.* 646, *Cur.* 443: Arabes, Caras, Cretanos, etc.

CYPRUS: *Mer.* 646, 933, 937, *Ad.* 224, 230, 278.

DELPHI: *Ps.* 480: quod scibo Delphis tibi responsum dicito.[1]

ELATIA (in Phocis): *Ba.* 591.

EPIDAMNUS: *Men.* arg. 6, 49, 51, 70, 230, 263, 267, 306, 380 (bis). Epidamniensis is adjective *Men.* 32; Epidamnius is adjective *Men.* 1004, noun in 33, 258.

EPIDAURUS: *Cur.* 429, 562, *Ep.* 540 *a*, 541 *a*, 636.

ERETRIA: *Mer.* 646, *Pe.* 259, 322, 323.

EUBOEA: *Ep.* 153: Euboicus (miles).

GRAECIA: *Ru.* 737: ex germana Graecia, *Men.* 236: Graeciam . . . exoticam (=Magna Graecia); see also *Cas.* 71, *St.* 649. For Graecus as adjective see *Cur.* 288: isti Graeci palliati capite operto qui ambulant, *Mer.* 525, *Ru.* 588: vina Graeca, *St.* 226: unctiones Graecas sudatorias vendo, 707,[2] *As.* 199: Graeca fide, *Men.* 9, *Tru.* 55.

HILURII: *Men.* 235, *Tr.* 852: Hilurica facies videtur hominis.

HISTRI: *Men.* 235.

IMBROS: an Athenian goes thither to settle an estate, *Hec.* Per. 5, 171.

LACONIA: *Cap.* 471: Lacones . . . . viros (parasites), *Ep.* 234: (canis) Laconicus, *Mo.* 404: clavis Laconicus. See SPARTA, below.

LEMNOS: *Cis.* arg. 6, arg. 7, 161, *Tru.* 91, 355, *Ph.* Per. 3, Per. 5, 66, 567, 680, 873, 943, 1004, 1013; *Cis.* 100: sua cognata Lemniensis, 157 mercator . . . . Lemnius. For Lemnius, Lemnia as noun see *Cis.* 173, 492, 530.

[1] Cf. the mention of Seleucus, *Mi.* 75, 949, 951, 948.

[1] Cf. perhaps *And.* 698 non Apollinis magis verum atque hoc responsumst. Cf., too, the slave name *Delphium*, p. 12, n. 4.

[2] The passages in which pergraecari occurs are also pertinent here: *Ba.* 813, *Mo.* 960, 22, 64, *Poe.* 603, *Tru.* 87; so congraecare *Ba.* 743. Graece occurs *As.* prol. 10, *Mer.* prol. 9, *Mi.* 86, *Cas.* prol. 33, *Tr.* prol. 18, always in accounts of the Greek originals of Plautus' plays.

LESBOS: *Mer.* 647: Lesbiam (terram), *Poe.* 699: vinum Lesbium, *Mi.* 1247.

LEUCAS: *Poe.* 699: vinum Leucadium.

MACEDONIA: *Tr.* 845. Cf. Macedones, *Mi.* 44, Macedonius (as adjective), *Ps.* 51, 346, 616, 1090, 1152, 1162, 1210: virum Macedoniensem *Ps.* 1041.

MEGARA: *Mer.* 646 Megares (acc. pl.), *Pe.* 137 Megaribus . . . . commigravit.

MOLOSSIA: *Cap.* 86 Molossici (canes).

MYCONOS: *Hec.* 433, 801 Myconius hospes, 803 es tu Myconius?

NAUPACTUS: *Mi.* arg. ii. 2, 102, 116.

NEMEA: games at, *Cas.* 759–62.

OLYMPIA: games at, *Cas.* 759–62.

PIRAEUS: see ATHENAE.

RHAMNUS: *And.* 930: Rhamnusium se aiebat esse.

RHODOS: *Cur.* 444 Rhodiam (terram), *Mer.* 11, 93, 257, 390, *Eun.* 107, 420, 498, 423: Rhodius adulescentulus.

SAMOS: *Ba.* 472, 574, 200: Samiam quidem (Bacchidem), *Men.* 178: fores Samiae, *St.* 694: Samiolo poterio, *Ba.* 202: Samium vas, *Cap.* 291: Samiis vasis, *Eun.* 107: Samia mihi mater fuit.

SICILIA: *Men.* 1096, *Ru.* 54, 357, 495, *Men.* arg. 1: mercator Siculus, *Pe.* 395 (logum) . . . . Siculum, *Ru.* 49, *Poe.* 897: praedo Siculus, *Ru.* 451, *Men.* 1068, *Cap.* 888 (bis). The verb sicilicissito, *Men.* 12, is pertinent here: cf. also AGRIGENTUM and SYRACUSAE.

SICYON: *Cis.* 130, 156, 190, *Cur.* 395, *Mer.* 647. *Ps.* 995, 998, 1098 1174, *Cis.* arg. 1, arg 3.

SPARTA: *Poe.* 663, 666. For the adjective we have Spartanus, *Poe.* 770, Spartiaticus, *Poe.* 719, for the noun Spartiatem, *Poe.* 780. In *Pe.* 553, 554: ut munitum muro tibi visum oppidumst? si incolae bene sunt morati, id pulchre moenitum arbitror, there may well be a reference to Sparta. See also LACONIA.

STYMPHALIS: the aves Stymphales are named among the aerumnae Herculis, *Pe.* 4.

SUNIUM: *Eun.* 115, 519, *Ph.* 837 (site of a *mercatus*, 'fair').

SUPERUM MARE: *Men.* 236.

SYRACUSAE: *Men.* 17, 37, 69, 408, 1097 (a merchant goes thence to Tarentum *ad mercatum*). For Syracusanus, adjective, cf. *Men.* 1068, 1109.

TARENTUM: *Men.* 27, 29, 36, 39, 1112. In *Tru.* 649 there is a reference to the sale of Tarentinae oves, though the play is laid at Athens. Cf., perhaps, *Mer.* 525, with Naudet's note.

TELOBOAE: *Am.* arg. i. 2, 101, 205, 211, 217, 251, 414, 418, 734. See Palmer on arg. i. 2.

THASOS: *Poe.* 699: vinum Thasium.

THEBAE: *Am.* 97, 677, 1046, *Ep.* 53, 206, 252, 416, 636, *Ru.* 746. For Thebanus as adjective, see *Am.* 101, 190, 194, 259, 363, 376, 678, frag. xvi; as noun, *Am.* 365. See ARGIVI above.

THESSALIA: *Am.* 1043: Thessalum veneficum. In *Am.* 770 Thessala is the name of an ancilla.

THRAECIA: *Poe.* 1168.

ZACYNTHUS: *Mer.* 647, 940, 943, 945.

III B. Places in Europe belonging to Roman geography.

ALATRIUM: *Cap.* 883: *ναὶ τὸν Ἀλάτριον.*

APULIA: *Cas.* 72 in ⟨terra⟩ Apulia. There is a slighting reference to Apulians in *Mi.* 648: post Ephesi sum natus, non enim in Apulis. *Cas.* 77 is, perhaps, likewise disparaging (cf. 67–77). The prologuist declares that in Graecia et Carthagini serviles nuptiae are celebrated more elaborately than the marriages of free-born men and women; he undertakes to prove this before a Poenus iudex . . . . vel Graecus adeo vel mea caussa Apulus.

BOII: *Cap.* 888: nunc Siculus non est, Boius est, boiam terit.

CAMPANIA: *Ps.* 146: peristromata . . . . Campanica, *Tr.* 545: Campans genus multo Surorum iam antidit patientia, *Tru.* 942 (corrupt): Campas.

CORA: *Cap.* 881: *ναὶ τὰν Κόραν.*

ETRURIA: *Cis.* 562: ex Tusco modo. See SUTRIUM, below.

FRUSINO: *Cap.* 883: *ναὶ τὰν Φρουσινῶνα.*

GALLIA: *Aul.* 495: Gallicis cantheriis, frag. 176 (?).

HISPANI: *Men.* 235.

ITALIA: *Men.* 237: orae Italicae omnes.

MONS MASSICUS: *Ps.* 1303: Massici montis uberrimos quattuor fructus.

MASSILIA: *Men.* 235: Massilienses, *Cas.* 963: ubi tu es qui colere mores Massiliensis postulas?

PISTORENSES: *Cap.* 160.

PLACENTIA: *Cap.* 172: opus Placentinis quoque.

PRAENESTE: *Ba.* frag. viii.: Praenestinum opino esse, ita erat gloriosus, *Tr.* 608, 609: ilico hic ante ostium, 'tam modo,' inquit Praenestinus, *Tru.* 691 (cf. 688 ff.): Praenestinis 'conea' est ciconea. All three references are slighting. So, when in *Cap.* 882 Ergasilus swears *ναὶ τὰν Πραινέστην*, etc., Hegio asks (884): quid tu per barbaras urbis iuras?

ROMA: Romae was read by Schoell in *Tru.* 966, a corrupt verse. Cf. *Poe.* 1313, 1314: plenior ali ulpicique quam Romani remiges. Cf., too, perhaps, frag. 109, from Festus 45: catulinam carnem esitavisse Romanos Plautus in Saturione refert.

Various places in Rome are mentioned. Cf. *Cap.* 489: omnes de compecto rem agunt, quasi in Velabro olearii,[1] *Cur.* 483: in Velabro. Cf. *Cur.* 269: locus non praeberi (*sc.* periuris) potis est in Capitolio. In *Cur.* 467–85 the *choragus* enumerates places in the forum Romanum, e. g., the Cloacinae sacrum, the basilica, the forum piscarium, the lacus, the veteres (tabernae), the aedes Castoris, the vicus Tuscus, the Velabrum.[2]

SARDI: *Mi.* 44.

SARSINA (in Umbria): *Mo.* 770: Sarsinatis ecqua est, si Umbram non habes?

SIGNEA: *Cap.* 882: *ναὶ τὰν Σιγνέαν.*

SUTRIUM: *Cas.* 524.

UMBRIA: see SARSINA.

TURDETANI: *Cap.* 163.[3]

From the foregoing pages (5–12) one sees how vast is the array of places to which Plautus and Terence, especially the former, make reference.[4] Allusion is made to all quarters of the Greek world of Menander's time and to some places of the Roman world of Plautus' days.

[1] The *Captivi* is laid in Aetolia! Corners in grain were common enough in Athens: witness Lysias xxii, *κατὰ τῶν σιτοπωλῶν.* Probably in the original of the *Captivi* there was a reference to such corners at Athens; for this Plautus substituted the more telling reference to similar operations at home.

[2] See below, p. 14, n. 1, last paragraph.

[3] At times Plautus plays with geography, as Swift played with geography. In *Cur.* 442 ff. the parasite declares that within twenty days the miles, single-handed, conquered Persas . . . . Rhodiam atque Lyciam, Perediam et Perbibesiam, Centauromachiam et Classiam Unomammiam, Libyamque . . . . omnem Conterebromniam . . . . *Peredia* and *Perbibesia* seem anticipations of Dickens' town of *Eatanswill.* In a similar passage, *Mi.* 13–15, 42–45, a parasite refers to the campi Curculionei, and to Scytholatronia. In *Tr.* 928–35 the sycophanta declares that he left Charmides ad Rhadamantem in Cercopio, and that Charmides had visited Pontus in Arabia, not, says the sycophanta, the Arabia where incense is produced, but the Arabia where one gets absinthe and cunila gallinacea! See also 936–44, *Poe.* 471–73, 663–66 (cf. 718, 790).

[4] This array is lengthened if we give heed to the names of slaves; we must remember that slaves were largely named after the countries from which they came. Instructive here is *Ph.* 35, 36 where Davus says: amicus summus et popularis Geta heri ad me venit. See the editors. Davus thinks of himself as a Dacian and so as virtually fellow-countryman of the Getae. It is clear, then, that to Terence's mind slave names had geographical suggestion. Cf. such passages as *Mer.* 414, 415: ancillam . . . . aut Syram aut Aegyptiam, *Eun.* 165, 166: ex Aethiopia ancillulam (cf. 471).

Cf. now the following slave names, ethnic in origin: Cario, *Mi.* 1397, 1427; Davus, *Am.* 365, 614, frag. 146, and passim, *Ph.* 51–151 passim (see Schmidt "Griechische Personennamen bei Plautus" *Hermes* XXXVII, p. 185); Cilix, frag. 149 (Schmidt, p. 184); Delphium, *Mo.* 320–47, 372, 393, 397 (Schmidt, p. 185); Dorus, name of a eunuch, *Eun.* 594; Dorias, name of an ancilla, *Eun.* 538; Dorio, name of a leno, *Ph.* 485–533; Eleusium, *Aul.* 333 (Schmidt, p. 187); Geta, *Ph.* passim, *Ad.* 299 ff. (Lindsay emends *Tru.* 577 in such fashion that the slave Cyamus is made to hail from the Getae); Lesbia, *And.* 228, 459–88; Lurcio, *Mi.* 812–65, Lucris, name of the supposed captive woman in *Pe.* 624 (Schmidt, pp. 193, 194, refuses to connect these names with *lucrum;* he derives them from *Λοκρίων, Λοκρίς*); Lydus, name of paedagogus in *Ba.;* Messenio, *Men.;* Mysis, *And.;* Olympio, Olympiscus, *Cas.;* Olympicus, *Tr.* 425; Phrygia, *Aul.* 333, *Heaut.* 731, etc., *Ad.* 973 (Schmidt, p. 201); Phoenicium, *Tru.* passim (Schmidt, p. 201); Syra, *Mer.* 670 ff., etc., *Tru.* 405, *Hec.* 71 ff., etc.; Syrus, *Ba.* 649, *Ps., Ad., Heaut., St.* 433 (Schmidt, p. 210); Syriscus, *Eun.* 772, 775; Thessala, *Am.* 770 (Schmidt, p. 210). We may add Cappadox. the name of the leno in *Cur.;* Schmidt (p. 181) declares that the name occurs nowhere else. See also Berard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* I, pp. 405, 406.

In Terence the geography is at once more restricted and more wholly Greek; Plautus at times introduces places purely Italian or even wholly Roman.[1]

It is important now to consider the character of these references to various places. Are they accurate or inaccurate? Are they vague and intangible or is there an air of reality about them? In a word, is the local color good or bad?

Let us deal first with the plays laid at Athens. Here the representation of things Athenian, so far as that representation is at all definite (i. e., so far as the portrayal is metropolitan rather than cosmopolitan) is correct always. This is what we should expect in plays based on dramas written by citizens or residents of Athens.

In every passage containing reference to coming to Athens *peregre* the harbor (called either Piraeus or simply portus) is mentioned; it seems needless to give the references. The city is described as well-walled, *Pe.* 553; in *Pe.* 549 it is fortunatae atque opiparae (it may not be too fanciful to see here a rendering of *Ἀθῆναι λιπαραί*). Allusions to the acropolis occur: *Ba.* 900: in arcem abivit aedem visere. nunc apertast; *Hec.* 431: in arcem transcurso opus est (see also 801). In *And.* 930 an Athenian is described as a Rhamnusian; in *Eun.* 110, 115 Attica covers Sunium.[2]

[1] For specially incongruous injection of places wholly Italian or Roman see *Cap.* 160–63, 880–85, *Cur.* 466–85. It is worth while to remember that the authenticity of such passages has been called in question.

[2] Some minor points may be noted. Cf. *As.* 598–600: esse negotiosum interdius videlicet Solonem, leges ut conscribat quibus se populus teneat. In *Aul.* 36 the Cereris vigiliae are the Thesmophoria; see Wagner's note. In *Mer.* 61–68 we get a good view of the Dionysia, doubtless at Athens: cf. *Cur.* 644–47. In *Heaut.* 162, 170, 183 ff., 211, 733 we have references to the Dionysia, as kept in some country seat near Athens. For one other very important bit of local color in connection with Athens see the discussion below, pp. 16–18, of the meaning of rus. In *Aul.* 559 Corinthiensem fontem Pirenam may be noted.

In *And.* 51 there is a reference to *ephebi.* That we must interpret this in the technical sense familiar to the Athenians is clear from *Eun.* 824: iste ephebus frater Phaedriae, as explained by 290: miror quid ex Piraeo abierit, nam ibi custos publice nunc est (cf. the Periocha 7, 12). Hence in 987: an in astu venit (*sc.* ex Piraeo)? asked about this *ephebus*, is absolutely correct. Cf. now *Mer.* 40, 61.

Turning now to plays not laid at Athens, we note that in the *Bacchides*, set at Ephesus, references are made to the temple of Diana there (307–41). In the *Miles*, also set at Ephesus, we have mention of the ara Ephesiae Dianae (411). The *Menaechmi* too gives a correct touch; for the boy lost at Tarentum his brother has been searching through Histros, Hispanos, Massiliensis, Hilurios, mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare (235–37). In *Poe.* 86 reference is made to Magara, part of Carthage; one thinks of Vergil's magalia, *Aen.* i. 421, iv. 259, *Georg.* iii. 340 (see Conington's notes).

The *Rudens* is laid at Cyrene. At 630–33 an elaborate reference is made to laserpicium or silphium, well known as the special product of Cyrene and as such figured on its coins.

Some miscellaneous points deserve notice. The perfumes of Arabia are mentioned in *Mi.* 412, *Tr.* 934, 935, *Tru.* 539, 540; amomum from Pontus is named in *Tru. ibid.* In *Tru.* 536 Phrygian cloaks are mentioned; cf. the noun phrygio. In *Tru.* 649 there is mention of a sale of oves Tarentinae; we think of Horace *Carm.* ii. 6. 10–11: dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi flumen et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalantho. Cf. also Varro *R. R.* ii. 2. 18, cited by editors on Horace *loc. cit.* The *Stichus* involves a trading voyage from Athens to Asia; the things brought back include Babulonica et peristroma tonsilia et tappetia, 378, sambucae, 381, unguenta, 383. In *Men.* 409–12 it is possible to pick flaws in the list of Syracusan kings (see Brix), but since it occurs in a comedy, not in a history, it is reasonably accurate. In the *Curculio* we have already noted (see p. 4) the references to the templum Aesculapi.[1]

[1] Many more details might be brought together, e.g., the references to wines of various sorts, such as Chian, Lesbian, famous still in later times, and known all over the Greek world through commerce; the references to Samian ware, to Alexandrian and Campanian tapestries, etc. The reader who examines with care the geographical data given above, pp. 5–12, or reads thoughtfully the accounts of travel given below, will be struck more and more forcibly with the accuracy of the allusions. Of a more general character are the references to luxurious living at Athens, Epidamnus, Sicily, (i. e., Syracuse), all centers of trade, wealth, and its attendant luxury. For Sicily cf. *Ru.* 51–57, 540–42; for Epidamnus, *Men.* 258–64, 339–43; for Athens, *Ep.* 212–63. In *Ru.* 49, 50 Charmides is described as Siculus senex, ... Agrigentinus, urbis proditor: we think at once of the disturbed political conditions in Sicily. Lastly, even in the *Amphitruo*, a play which contains, perhaps, much relatively independent work (see Palmer's edition, pp. xiv–xviii), the treatment is reasonably accurate. The play is laid at Thebes: Creon is king (194, 351), Tiresias is seer (1128, 1145, 1132).

Yet there are weaknesses. In *Am.* 149, 164 *a*, 195, 460, 602, 701, 731 ff. reference is made to a portus (of Thebes!); cf. Palmer on 404. Now the *Amphitruo* is unique among Latin comedies, especially in its wonder-working element (in the prolongation of the night and the deus ex machina close); what wonder if in a play which lies close to the magic world Thebes develops a harbor? Where Plautus set the Teloboae we do not know (see Palmer's note on arg. i. 2), but he repeatedly makes Amphitruo go to and fro by sea (329, 404, etc.). Hence there must be a portus at the home end of the journey. Plautus' real sin, then, lies in putting this portus within easy walking distance of Thebes. Similarly in the *Poenulus* Calydon has a harbor (114, 115, 649, 650). In *Am.* 404, 823 Plautus refers to a portus Persicus; from this Amphitruo arrived on the night on which the play opens. Festus (217 M.) suggested that Plautus gave this name to some harbor on the mare Euboicum because once a Persian fleet maneuvered in these waters, an odd anachronism, surely, and a curious misapplication of a bit of learning, yet modern editors have no better comment to offer.

Errors of another sort are somewhat marked. Though all the plays are laid on Greek soil, Plautus not infrequently introduces geographical details which are purely Italian. See above, pp. 11, 12; p. 13, n. 1. The *Captivi* is laid in Aetolia; yet in 88–90, there is allusion to the porta trigemina at Rome. In *Ps.* 331 ff., Professor Morris sees a reference to the Porta Esquilina at Rome. Another instance of his forgetfulness is his employment of pergraecari, with the sense of 'to lead a riotous, extravagant life;' cf. p. 9, n. 2. Cf. also *Cur.* 288: isti Graeci palliati, *Tru.* 55: armariola Graeca. A captious critic might object to the statement in *Men.* 7–12 that this play non atticissat, verum sicilicissitat, on the ground that the scene is laid at Epidamnus. Yet since the more important characters all hail from Syracuse and return thither at the close of the play the inaccuracy is a trifle. It is to be noted that after all the allusions to things distinctly Italian or Roman are, for our purposes, of little consequence. Here especially Plautus talks with fullest knowledge and accuracy; the passages discredit his judgment (or that of the interpolators), not his geographical knowledge.

Thus far we have been concerned with the geography of the comedies, its extent and its nature. We must pass now to our main theme, the evidences of movement from point to point.[1] A general twofold division of the passages suggests itself; one set will deal with land travel, the other, far the larger, with travel beyond seas.

[1] A careful examination of pp. 5–12 will furnish many suggestions of communication between distant points, e. g., in the allusions to objects of commerce, such as wines, tapestries, perfumes, slaves.

TRAVEL BY LAND

Specific references[1] to journeying by land are confined to the innumerable allusions to movement in the streets of some city, or to travel between a city and its harbor, or to movement between some city, especially Athens, and its suburbs. Of movement in city streets we need take no notice. Nor shall I take time to gather the references to progress between a city and its harbor, though under the conditions which determined the location of cities in ancient Greece such progress often involved distances of moment; witness the case of Athens and the Piraeus. Yet after all this movement, like that in city streets, is purely local.

Journeys between some city and its *rus* stand, in part at least, on a somewhat different footing. In the *Eunuchus* (110, 115) the term *rus* covers Sunium, which is a goodly distance from Athens for one who must walk or drive thither. References to travel between Athens and its suburbs are very numerous.[2] In the *Casina* a vilicus is in Athens (see 98–142, 437, 438, etc.). In 781 the senex says: ego ruri cenavero (cf. 783–86), a proof that the *rus* was at no great distance.[3] In *Mer.* 61–68 Demipho talks of the trips he made as a boy with his father (to Athens) to see the peplus. Lysimachus, senex, has a villa *ruri* (*Mer.* 272–82). His wife is there (280 ff., 543, 586, 686, etc.), but on receipt of a message that he is not coming *rus* (279, 280, 667), she comes to town to join him (667–80, 686, 807–14). Presently she sends a servant to her father, but the servant finds that the father had gone *rus* (803, 804). In 656 Eutychus advises Charinus

[1] Land travel is often enough implied, especially in the references to the exploits of the miles: see *Cur.* 438, 442–48, 438–39, *Mi.* 13–15, 42–44, 52, 53, *Poe.* 663–66. We may suppose that Harpax (*Ps.* 1173–75) came from Sicyon to Athens by land; such a supposition gives most point to Ballio's comment, strenue mehercle iisti, when he hears that Harpax had left Sicyon but two days before (the distance by land is about 75 miles). We shall see presently that land conveyances are but seldom named, and that they are never mentioned in connection with actual travel.

[2] In *Cis.* 225, 226 Alcesimarchus, now in town (Sicyon) says: pater apud villam detinuit me hos sex dies ruri continuos. In *Men.* prol. 63–66 we read that the mercator who had carried off the boy, going out rus from Epidamnus, was drowned while trying to ford a rain-swollen stream. In *Poe.* 170 a vilicus is in town (Calydon). In *Cap.* 78 the parasite, who is supposed to be in Aetolia, says: ubi res prolatae sunt, quom homines rus eunt, simul prolatae res sunt nostris dentibus. Cf. 84, 85.

[3] In 420, in his desire to hasten the 'marriage,' he had said, scin tu rus hinc esse ad villam longe quo ducat?

not to go *peregre* into exile, but *rus aliquo.* See also *Ba.* 899, *As.* 341, 342.

From *Mo.* 1–83 we see that a country slave, Grumio, is in town. For other movements *rus* see 928, 1043, 1076, 1077. In *Ps.* 549 Callipho explains that he cannot help Simo: rus ut irem iam heri constitueram. It was while Callicles was unos sex dies ruri that Lesbonicus put up his father's house for sale (*Tr.* 163–72).[1] According to *Tru.* 645, 646 Strabax has gone rus for his father; some one there owed money to his father for oves Tarentinae. Cf. further 647–50, 669–71, 692–94. One of Phronesium's lovers is an adulescens agrestis (246–49, 269, arg. 1–2). In 682, 683 Truculentus, a servus rusticus, refers to his frequent trips to the city. At 915 Strabax says: nec ruri nec hic operis quicquam facio. See also 245–54, 277–82.[2]

In Terence references of this sort are even more numerous. The *Heauton* is laid in the suburbs of Athens, at some distance from the city (239, 63–74, 88–92, etc.); for movement between city and suburbs see 53, 54, 142–46, 731, 732, 175, 176, 191, 230 ff., 375, 381–408. In the *Hecyra* Laches lives ruri, his wife in town (174, 175, 215–18, 224–26). He comes to town, 189, 190. His wife, baffled in her efforts to establish better relations between herself and her daughter-in-law, says to her son (586): ego rus abituram hinc cum tuo me esse certo decrevi patre. Cf. 589, 619, 629.

In *Eun.* 187 Phaedria, who has agreed to surrender Thais for two days to the miles, says: rus ibo. Cf. 216, 220, Per. 5–6. Vss. 629–41 tell what happened when he set out rus. In 971–73

[1] A field (ager) which Lesbonicus still owns sub urbe hic, 508 ff., figures largely in the discussion whether his sister shall or shall not be married to Lysiteles sine dote (508–561, 593–99, 652, 687, 695, 700). In *Tru.* 174 Diniarchus, who has been nearly ruined by his gifts to Phronesium, says: sunt mi etiam fundi et aedis. Cf. 177, 186, 214. See also *Aul.* 13, 14. In *Ph.* 361–66 Phormio declares that the (supposed) father of the girl whom the court had compelled Antipho to marry had spent most of his time ruri: ibi agrum de nostro patre colendum habebat. In 661 Geta asserts that Phormio has an ager, mortgaged for ten minae. In *Ad.* 949, 950 Demea urges Micio to give to Hegio agelli hic sub urbe paullum, which at present he rents out. Cf. also *Ep.* 226, *Mo.* 80, *Pe.* 566.

[2] In *Tr.* 944 travel rus is burlesqued. The sycophant had said, 940–43, that he had sailed ad caput amnis, quod de caelo exoritur sub solio Iovis; nay, he had gone straight up to heaven, but he had not seen Jupiter: alii di isse ad villam aiebant servis depromptum cibum.

his father says: ex meo propinquo rure hoc capio commodi: neque agri neque urbis odium me umquam percipit. ubi satietas coepit fieri, commuto locum.[1] See also 611, 967. Chremes has an estate at Sunium (519–25). From this estate years before his sister had been carried off by pirates (cf. 519–27 with 107–15).[2]

Of the older brothers in the *Adelphoe* one, Demea, has spent his life in the country (45, 866, 867). He comes to town sorely distressed by the pranks of one of his sons, Aeschines, whom his brother Micio had adopted (77–81, 92); his other son, Ctesipho, is, he thinks, safely in the country (94–96). He starts back *rus* to find Ctesipho (401, 433–36, 517–20). On his way he meets one of his *mercennarii*, en route for town, who tells him that Ctesipho is not *ruri* (541, 542). See also 560–62, 842.[3]

An excellent commentary on these passages is afforded by Thucydides' remarks (ii. 13. 2, ii. 14, ii. 15. 1, 2) on the advice given by Pericles to the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The Athenians, he said, "must prepare for war and bring their property from the country into the city; they must defend their walls but not go out to battle . . . ." They brought their property into the city, with sorrowing hearts, "for the Athenians had always been accustomed to reside in the country. Such a life had been characteristic of them, more than of any other Hellenic people, from very early times." "Theseus . . . . united all the inhabitants of Attica in the present city, establishing one council and town hall. They continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as their metropolis, and henceforth they were all inscribed in the roll of her citizens."[4]

[1] Cf. *Ad.* 523: et illud rus nulla alia causa tam male odi, nisi quia propest; quod si abesset longius, prius nox oppressisset illi eum (=patrem) quam huc revorti posset iterum. Nunc ubi me illic non videbit, iam huc recurret.

[2] The uncle of Glycerium, shipwrecked on Andros, was a Rhamnusian (*And.* 923–30).

[3] References to the pistrinum as a means of punishment are probably pertinent here; that the pistrinum was ruri appears from *Mo.* 16–19, *Ph.* 249, 250. Less clear are *Ba.* 781, *Ep.* 121, 145, *Pe.* 420, *Poe.* 827, *Ps.* 490, 494, 499, 500, 534, 1060, 1100, *And.* 600, 199, 200.

[4] The quotations are from Jowett's translation. See Miss Harrison *Primitive Athens* (1906), pp. 4, 5. Pollux viii. 116 explains that the Athenians called a special session of the ἐκκλησία a κατάκλητος ἐκκλησία, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν κατεκάλουν

The passages brought together from Plautus and Terence show that in Menander's day conditions at Athens were much the same as they had been before the Athenians took Pericles' advice and moved from the country into the city.

Only once, I think, is there allusion to travel by land by night. In the *Amphitruo* Sosia is sent forward by night by his impatient master to carry news of Theban victory and of Amphitruo's home-coming (153–55, 163–68, 292–310, 602, 620–22, 737, 743). He travels solus (154), carrying a lantern (149, 341). He fears arrest by the tresviri as a suspicious character, and flogging next day (155–60).[1]

TRAVEL BEYOND SEAS

Let us turn now to consider travel by sea. The material is abundant, but the passages involved may be grouped under a few clearly marked divisions. We shall see that journeys beyond seas were undertaken largely for business; we shall note much travel, too, in connection with war. The travels of meretrices, or of their lovers, or of those lovers' messengers, will call for special attention. It will be necessary, finally, to devote a separate section to the travels of persons who in their tender years were kidnaped or carried off by pirates and to the journeys of the kinsmen who spend long years and cover great distances in their search for the loved and lost.

Business travel.—According to the *Asinaria* a merchant of Pella in Macedonia has been buying Arcadici asini at Athens (333 ff., 347 ff., 397, 398, prol. 12). Whether the merchant was present in person to make the purchase does not appear. Presently a messenger from him enters, prepared to pay the purchase money, twenty minae (335, 336, 343–49, 852, 734, 369, 590, arg. 3). He comes peregre (449, 464, 582). He is attended by a puer (382). He is at first cautious and resists all attempts of Leonidas to get the money from him. As part of his plea Leonidas

(i.e., down to the ἄστυ). It is clear that in most of the passages in Plautus and Terence the term *rus* covers no great distance; it is also plain from the *Eunuchus* (110, 115) that the term may cover all Attica.

[1] *Ad.* 523–26, cited p. 18, n. 1, might be taken to imply that journeying by night was unusual; it may, however, merely imply that Ctesipho thinks that his father would regard it as hopeless to search for him in town in the darkness.

says (499–501): Rhodo mercator dives apsente ero solus mihi talentum argenti soli adnumeravit et credidit mihi neque deceptust in eo.

In *Ba.* 170, 171 Chrysalus declares that he and his master's son have been away from Athens for two years, at Ephesus, to collect 1,200 Philippi due to the youth's father, Nicobulus (230–36, 249–78, 306–36, 352–54, 388, 389, 561, 1047). The money had been in the hands of a hospes. Chrysalus asserts that they have not brought the money; they had after much trouble secured it, but as they were putting out from the harbor of Ephesus homeward bound a pirate ship started after them, whereupon they had put back and had deposited the money publicly with the priest of Diana (278–347). Later the son had secured a portion of the money and had bought this home (316–24). At 325 Chrysalus urges Nicobulus to go to Ephesus for the balance; the old man assents (342 ff., 354 ff., 776).[1] Chrysalus warns him that he must take with him his son's anulus, as the symbolus by which the money was to be got from the priest (265, 327–30).[2]

In the *Cistellaria* we read that a mercator came from Lemnos to Sicyon to attend the games (157, 161, 162); there he wronged a woman (158, 159, arg. 1, 2). He had gone back to Lemnos and had married there (161, 162, 173–75, arg. 2). When his wife died he went again to Sicyon and married the woman he had wronged years before (100, 177–79, arg. 6). His first journey, then, was solely for business; the second also may be said to have been made for business, in a broad sense: at least it was not undertaken animi tantum causa.

In the *Curculio* Phaedromus sends his parasite from Epidaurus to Caria (see p. 6) to get a loan from a sodalis there (67 ff., 143, 144, 252, 253, 275–78, arg. 1, 2). The parasite had been sent nudius quartus (206, 207) and is expected back hodie (143; in 143, 225, 324, 325, it is implied that a letter or messenger had come from the parasite fixing the time of his return). In Caria he makes the acquaintance of the very soldier who had contracted

[1] Vss. 342 ff. imply that Nicobulus had been a *mercator*, i.e., a merchant who engaged in transmarine commerce, in his own ship.

[2] The whole story of the depositum and of the supposed treachery of the hospes reminds one of the story of Glaucus in Herodotus vi. 86.

with the leno for Phaedromus' amica (337 ff.); the soldier asks him whether he knows the banker Lyco and the leno Cappadox at Epidaurus. The parasite robs the soldier of his ring, which was to serve as symbolus to the banker (340–60). The soldier had been in Epidaurus and had bargained in person for the girl; he had paid part of the money and had made arrangements to complete the payment and the transfer.[1] He calls Lyco his hospes (429), tarpezita meus (618). The soldier arrives from Caria (533 ff.).

In *Mer.* 1–110 Charinus speaks what amounts to a prologue. He had been engaged in an intrigue with a meretrix (40–45), for which his father had sternly reproached him (46–73), pointing out that in his youth he himself had made much money as a mercator (73–78). This talk drove Charinus forth to seek his fortune (11, 12, 79–97, 357, 358, arg. i. 1, 2, arg. ii. 1, 2). His father had built for him a navis cercurus, had bought merces, had put all on board the ship, and had given him also talentum argenti (86–91). Charinus had gone to Rhodes on a trading trip; he has just returned, after two years (11, 12, 92–97, 256, 257, 533–35), successful beyond his expectations (93–96). At Rhodes he loved an ancilla of a certain hospes, bought her, and brought her home (97–117); about her the play turns.[2]

The *Mostellaria* is laid at Athens. Theopropides, senex, has been away three years on business (78–81, 440, 971), which took him to Egypt (439, 994). See also 11, 12, 25, 26, 57, 957–62, 971–77, arg. 2, 3.

In the *Persa* money is needed. At 260–65, 323–26 Sagaristio explains that he can supply this: "my master has sent me to Eretria to buy some well-broken oxen; he gave me money, telling

[1] See 341–48, 432–36, 535–53.

[2] Plautus nearly always uses mercator of one who engages in transmarine commerce: see *As.* 333, 369, 397, 499, *Cis.* 157, *Men.* arg. 1, 17, *Mer.* arg. ii. 13, *Poe.* 1040. Cf. *And.* 222. In *Men.* 32, *Mi.* 131, *Poe.* 340, *Eun.* 109, 114, this sense is probable, though there is no direct proof. In *Epid.* 395 mercator is used, in a playful passage, of one who has been buying something within Athens itself. In *Ba.* 236 we have navis mercatoria. Cf. also *Ru.* 931, where Gripus, elated by the catch of the vidulus, builds castles in Spain: navibus magnis mercaturam faciam; *Tr.* 332: publicisne adfinis fuit an maritumis negotiis? mercaturan, an venalis habuit ubi rem perdidit? (cf. p. 24, n. 1). Yet, in *Mo.* 639, when Theopropides learns that his son has bought a house, he cries: eugae! Philolaches patrissat: iam homo in mercatura vortitur.

me that six days hence a fair will be held there. I'll use the money for our purposes and I'll tell him that there were no oxen to be bought." Another scheme is, however, in fact used. A letter is prepared, purporting to be from Toxilus' master, now in Persia (460, 451, 497 ff.); it is opened (497), and read (501–12, 520–27). The master is well and making money; business will detain him for eight months still in Persia, in connection with the auction of the praeda carried off by the Persians from the town Chrysopolis in Arabia (503–9).

In the *Stichus* two brothers, to repair their fortunes (404, 405, 628–31, arg. ii. 1–3), have been away from Athens for more than two years (29–31, 137, 212–14, 1–6, 99, 100, 131–36, 523) in Asia (152, 366, 367). They return at last, each in his own ship, laden with wealth (404–14, 505 ff., 374–83, 435).[1] In the *Trinummus* Charmides goes on business to Seleucia (109 ff., 149, 838, 839, 112, 771, 845, 901); he is gone two years. For his return see 820 ff.[2]

[1] It will be noted that trading trips regularly occupy two years or more. Yet in the *Mercator* the merchant had gone only to Rhodes. There is little in the plays to explain the length of the trips. In *Persa* 504, 505, in the fictitious letter, the writer is made to say that the auction will detain him for eight months in Persia. If we may lay any weight on such a passage, we shall infer that ancient business methods were rather leisurely. The prominence given to fairs (see below, p. 23, n. 2) seems to point in the same direction; if we suppose that at such fairs and elsewhere business was done in part at least by barter we shall be less surprised at the length of business trips. In *Od.* xv. 415, 416, 455, 456, we read of Phoenician ships tarrying for a year at Surie, amassing much substance. See Merry and Merriam on *Od.* viii. 161–64, Whibley *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 426. We may recall, too, the fact that in the winter months transmarine travel was suspended. It is possible, however, that the period of two or three years postulated by the plays is merely arbitrary and conventional, meaning no more than 'long continued.' In *Miles* 350, 351 we have the strange statement that Palaestrio had been slave of the miles at Ephesus for three years; this means that it is more than three years since the soldier carried the meretrix off by force from Athens. To take all this literally is difficult; the young man, to be faithful to the meretrix all this time, must have been a monstrum fidelitatis! In *Hec.* 85–87 a meretrix declares that she had been with a soldier at Corinth perpetuom biennium, pining the while for Athens (so near at hand!). In *Hec.* 420–23 Parmeno dwells on the horrors of the deep; for thirty days, he claims, or even more he was in constant expectation of death. Yet he had merely come from Imbros to Athens!

[2] Callicles, anxious to provide a dowry for Charmides' daughter, hires a sycophanta, who is to pretend that Charmides had sent him to Athens with money. The sycophanta, thinking himself unheard, seeks to perfect himself in his lesson: advenio ex Seleucia, Macedonia, Asia atque Arabia (845). This passage sounds the keynote of the nonsense geography that follows (928–44). See above, p. 12, n. 3.

In *And.* 796 Crito, an Andrian, arrives in Athens, to claim the property left by Chrysis, his sobrinus (796–801, 807–17). Through him the identity of Glycerium is established (859, 923–46). Chremes, her father, was once in Asia. Thither his brother Phania, a Rhamnusian (930), followed him (935), taking the young child with him (936). A subsidiary motive was his desire to escape a war at home (935: cf. the Glaucus story, Herod. vi. 86). He was shipwrecked at Andros (923, 924, 220–24), and died there, leaving the child to the care of Chrysis' family. Later the child had come to Athens with Chrysis, who hoped to mend her fortunes there (69–72).

According to *Ph.* 65–69, Demipho, though a man of wealth, had been lured from Athens to Cilicia by glittering inducements held out to him by a hospes there. Of the outcome of his trip we hear nothing, naturally, since the play is concerned rather with his brother Chremes. For years Chremes has been journeying to Lemnos, to collect the revenues of some estates owned there by his wife (679–81, 787–92). On one of these trips, fifteen years before (1017), he had an intrigue with a woman in Lemnos, and had had a daughter by her. Chremes is even now in Lemnos, to bring this daughter to Athens, that she may be married to Antipho, Demipho's son (65, 66, 567 ff., 728–65, *Pe.* 3–8); he had been gone a long time (572–75, 1012). When his wife learns the truth she cries (1012, 1013): haecine erant itiones crebrae et mansiones diutinae Lemni? haecine erat ea quae nostros minuit fructus vilitas?[1]

In the *Hecyra* Pamphilus goes to Imbros, to look after an inheritance there (171–75, 76, 77, 415–25, 359, 360, 458–65). If vss. 393, 394, which Dziatsko brackets, are retained, his absence lasted five months. In *Ad.* 224, 225 Syrus declares that he knows that the leno coemisse hinc quae illuc (=Cyprum) veheres multa, navem conductam (cf. 278). In 229–31 the leno admits that he is taking women to a fair;[2] he hopes to gain rich profits

[1] The Lemnian woman, finding that Chremes was away from Lemnos longer than usual, and noting that her daughter was of marriageable years, comes to Athens to find Chremes (569–76, 749 ff.).

[2] References to fairs, mercatus, occur elsewhere. In *Ph.* 837–39 Phormio talks of going to Sunium, ad mercatum, to buy an ancilla there. In *Men.* 27 a Syracusan

(231, 232, 226) and to return to Athens. In 647–52 Micio, to tease his son Aeschines, tells a story about the girl whom Aeschines loves and her mother; they have lately moved to Athens, he says, and the girl's nearest kinsman is come from Miletus to marry her, and take her away (653–55, 661, 662, 672–74, 702, 703).[1]

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[*To be continued*]

merchant goes to Tarentum ad mercatum (cf. 1112). Cf. *Pe.* 259, 260: erus meus me Eretriam misit, domitos boves uti sibi mercarer, dedit argentum, nam ibi mercatum dixit esse dieseptumei (cf. 313–26); *Poe.* 339, 340: apud aedem Veneris (in Calydon) hodie est mercatus meretricius: eo conveniunt mercatores, ibi ego me ostendi volo. We may assume, then, that there was a fair in connection with the *ludi* mentioned in *Cis.* 157 (cf. *Men.* 27 ff.); this will account for the mercator's coming to Sicyon at that time. Add *As.* 398: asinos vendidit (sc. Demaenetus, a vir Atheniensis) Pellaeo mercatori mercatu; the location of this fair is not given.

[1] Some more general references to business involving travel may be noted here. In *As.* 134 Argyrippus, addressing the lena and her daughter, cries: mare haud est mare, vos mare acerrumum; nam in mari repperi, hic elavi bonis. *Ru.* 631 contains a reference to regular exports (exagoga) from Cyrene to Capua. In *Tr.* 331, 332, Philto, seeking to learn how Lesbonicus lost his property, asks: qui eam perdidit? publicisne adfinis fuit an maritumis negotiis? mercaturan, an venalis habuit ubi rem perdidit? The passage reminds us of the statement in Gellius iii. 3. 14 that Plautus lost all his money in a trading expedition; it may involve a personal reminiscence. Plautus' references to the monkey (*Mi.* 162, 179, 261, 284, 285, 505, 989, *Poe.* 1072–75, *Ru.* 598–612, *Tru.* 269) are important for us, since the monkey was not found in Greece or Asia Minor (cf. Whibley, p. 23). The names of slaves, which had for us geographical significance above (p. 12, n. 4), have for us now mercantile significance; such slaves became known to the Athenians only through transmarine commerce. A glance at the list of non-Greek products to which reference is made in the plays will reinforce and supplement the impressions made by pp. 19–24, by suggesting movement across seas from Athens to many points other than those mentioned in these pages. The list includes resina Aegyptia, *Mer.* 139, mures Africani, *Poe.* 1011, Alexandrina beluata tonsilia tappetia, *Ps.* 147, perfume from Arabia (see Arabia, p. 6), lanterna Punica, *Aul.* 566, the laserpicium of Cyrene, *Ru.* 629, 630, Babylonica (peristromata), *St.* 378, cloaks from Phrygia (cf. Phrygia, p. 7), amomum from Pontus, *Tru.* 539, 540 (the term *myropola*, *Cas.* 226, 238, *Tr.* 408 is now seen to be significant; cf. myropolium, *Am.* 1011, *Ep.* 199), Chian wine, *Poe.* 699, Lesbian wine, *Poe.* 699, wine from Leucas, *Poe.* 699, vina Graeca, *Ru.* 588, Molossic hounds, *Cap.* 86, Samian wares (see Samos, p. 10) Thasian wine, *Poe.* 699, Tarentine sheep, *Tru.* 649. Cf. also *Am.* 1–5, and note the references below to removals for business reasons.

TRAVEL IN ANCIENT TIMES AS SEEN IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE. II

BY CHARLES KNAPP

War travel.—A good deal of travel was done in connection with warfare. As one notes the allusions in Plautus and Terence to the miles gloriosus or to the young men who go campaigning, he recalls the expeditions described in the Greek historians, and begins to realize the extent to which the citizen soldiery of Athens and the soldier of fortune became acquainted, through wars, with the outside world.

According to the *Captivi* the Aetolians are at war with the Eleans (24, 25, 58 ff., 93–96, 246, 330, etc.). The Aetolians had made a raid into Elis and had taken many prisoners; the Eleans, too, had taken captives. Among the latter is Philopolemus, Hegio's son (24–26, 94–102, 330–36, etc.). Hegio buys Elean captives, hoping to find some one for whom he can exchange his son (27–34, 110–15, 125–27, 508–13, 752, 767). With two of the captives thus purchased the play is concerned (27–34, 98–101, 110–15, etc.). Presently, by arrangement with Hegio, one of the captives departs for Elis to effect the desired exchange (330–413, 432–38, 449 ff., etc.). He succeeds in his mission, brings back Hegio's captive son, and returns to Aetolia, all in one day (872–94, 922–1029).[1]

In *Cur.* 438–48 Curculio explains why the miles has not come in person for the meretrix: "It is only three days since the soldier and I arrived in Caria from India; he stayed there to have a statue of himself . . . . set up to commemorate his exploits, because Persas, Paphlagonas, Sinopas, Arabos, Caras, Cretanos, Syros, Rhodiam, atque Lyciam, Perediam et Perbibesiam, Centauromachiam et Classiam Unomammiam, Libyamque oram omnem, omnem Conterebromniam, dimidiam partem nationum usque omnium subegit solus intra viginti dies." The parasite talks in

[1] In the *Amphitruo* constant reference is made to war between Thebes and the Teloboae (188–262, 100–41, 413–19, etc.).

the spirit of the miles gloriosus; Lyco's comment is nugas blatis (452).[1] In 392–400 the parasite is hailed as unoculus; in 505, 543, 546 he is luscus. Cf. his explanation: catapulta hoc ictum est mihi apud Sicyonem (394); in 399, 400 he hints that he had suffered thus ob rem publicam, though Lyco suggests a different explanation in 395, 396.

According to *Ep.* 46, 206, 271, 272, 414–16, 508, 509, Stratippocles has been with the Athenian army on a campaign to Thebes; meanwhile he sent letters repeatedly to Athens (see below, under "Letters"). For his return see 41 ff., 104 ff., 156, 157, 414–16, for his slave's, 1–24. See also 273. The army, too, is back, disbanded (208–12); the streets are full of soldiers, arma and iumenta (209), and captives (210, 211). People are out to greet their sons (211, 212); the meretrices are welcoming the soldiers (213–22, 236–53). At Thebes, Stratippocles had bought a captive from the booty of this campaign, for forty minae (43–46, 51–52 *a*, 64–74, 90 *a*–93, 122, 123, 646, etc.). To pay for her he had borrowed money from a danista at Thebes (53, 54, 71, 251–54). The danista has come with him to Athens to get his money (55); he keeps the girl until he receives his money (607, 608, 620–34, 646, 647).[2] At 526 Philippa enters, looking for her daughter (the captive referred to above).[3] At 634 ff. Epidicus recognizes the captive instantly as daughter of Periphanes, father of Stratippocles.[4]

[1] The parasite had, in fact, not been with the miles at all; yet, behind the exaggeration of his utterance and that underlying similar passages (*Mi.* 24, 25, 44–46, 52, 53) lies the truth that devotion to warfare caused many a man to journey widely.

[2] We have here two motives for travel combined, war and business; cf. again the letter in *Persa* 503–8. Thucydides (vi. 31. 5) reckons as part of the outlay on the original Sicilian expedition the things which *ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ τις ἢ στρατιώτης ἢ ἔμπορος ἔχων ἔπλει*. Cf. his account in vii. 13. 2 of desertions and other misconduct on the part of those who had joined the expedition *ὑπὸ μεγάλου μισθοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπαρθέντες καὶ οἰόμενοι χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι*. Some of them had deserted to Syracuse, some had run away into Sicily; *εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καί, αὐτοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι, ἀνδράποδα Τκκαρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες τοὺς τριηράρχους τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀφῆρηνται*.

[3] Cf. 532, 561, 562, 602.

[4] The explanations attending the *ἀναγνώρισις* throw more light on travel. Periphanes had, years before, been in Epidaurus. There mulierem (Philippa) compresserat; of this union a child had been born, our captive, Telestis (see 635, 636, 540–42, 550–61). Telestis sata est Epidauri, Thebis nata est (635, 636). From 554–57 we nfer that Epidaurus was the *patria* of Philippa; why or when she went to Thebes the play does not indicate.

Yet other indications of travel belli causa are seen in this play. At 153–55 we read of a miles Euboicus now in Athens, at 299, 300 of a miles Rhodius also there (cf. 437 ff.). In 449–52 the Rhodian refers to Periphanes as nempe quem in adulescentia memorant apud reges armis, arte duellica divitias magnas indeptum? In 492 he says to him: bellator, vale. In 431–47 Periphanes alludes to his own youthful career as a soldier, quite in the spirit of the miles gloriosus. Indeed, in this talk K. Schmidt (*Hermes* XXXVII, pp. 202, 203) finds the explanation of the puzzling term Platenius, added to the name Periphanes in 438, 448 (he connects Platenius with *πλάττω* = fingo: "Unser Periphanes gehört also zum Geschlecht der Πλάθανοι, der 'Prahlhänse,' wie Theodoromedes zum genus Polyplusium").

In *Ps.* 1169–71 Harpax, now in Athens, explains that he had been domi imperator summus, but that the soldier by his prowess had captured him in battle.

[1] Less specific references to foreign military service are common. *Mo.* 129–32 seem to imply that going out ad legionem was the normal thing as a boy came to early manhood. At Athens the adulescens served first at home as ephebus. Then came his foreign service. In *Ad.* 495, 496 Hegio says of himself and the girl's father: una semper militiae et domi fuimus. Young men often go militatum, in militiam, or threaten to do so, or their friends fear they will go off thus. In the *Heauton* Clinia is driven in militiam, in Asiam, by his father (93–117, etc.); he returns, however, after three months (118). In 486–89 Chremes tells Menedemus that under certain circumstances Clinia will threaten to go off again (cf. 480, 543, 544). See also 754–56, 924–29. Menedemus in his youth had gone soldiering in Asiam, because he was poor (110–12). From *Ad.* 274, 275 we see that Ctesipho has talked of running off e patria. At 384, 385 Demea says: videre videor iam diem illum, quom hinc egens profugiet (Aeschines) aliquo militatum. In *Tr.* 595–99 Stalagmus declares that if his master loses the ager, he will have to turn soldier, for ecfugiet (erus) ex urbe . . . . latrocinatum, aut in Asiam aut in Ciliciam. Cf. 698–703, 719–26. In *Mi.* 72–77 the soldier declares that at the request of king Seleucus he had enrolled latrones; at 947–50 he states that he had sent his parasite with these latrones to Seleucus. Cf. also *Poe.* 663 ff.: nam hic latro in Sparta fuit, ut quidem ipse nobeis dixit, apud regem Attalum. See further Brix on *Tr.* 599, *Mi.* 499.

The *Eunuchus* contains more evidence of travel beyond seas than does any other play of Terence, because two familiar motives, the miles and his amours and the kidnaped child (pp. 286–89), are combined. The miles brags (397 ff.) about his services to an unnamed rex (cf. 401–8). In 410 ff. he says: invidere omnes mihi, mordere clanculum . . . . verum unus tamen inpense, elephantis quem Indicis praefecerat. Once at this king's court he had routed in a duel of wits a Rhodian soldier (420–28). At 759 it appears that our miles, though now in Athens, is a peregrinus. He had gone from Athens to Caria; on his way back he stopped at Rhodes, in time to buy the girl in whom Thais is interested (125–36).[1]

Somewhat akin to journeys on errands connected with war is travel by legati publice missi. In the *Miles* a soldier carries off

a meretrix from Athens to Ephesus, while the girl's Athenian lover is away at Naupactus as legatus (102, 103, arg. i. 3, ii. 1–3). In *St.* 470 ff. Epignomus declines to invite the parasite to dinner, because he is to have as guests oratores populi, summates viri (nine in number: 487, 490); Ambracia veniunt huc legati publice (490, 491). In *Tru.* 91, 92 Diniarchus says: nam ego Lemno advenio Athenas . . . . legatus quo hinc cum puplico imperio fui.[1]

Travel by meretrices, etc.—Voluntary or involuntary journeys by meretrices, usually in the company of a miles, are not infrequently mentioned. In the *Miles* a soldier takes a meretrix, a woman ingenua et libera (arg. ii. 1), by force from Athens to Ephesus. Her lover was at Naupactus, as legatus. His slave sets out from Athens to carry to him news concerning the meretrix (114–19), but is captured by pirates, taken to Ephesus, and given to the soldier (118–20, arg. i. 3–4, arg. ii. 4–6). He sends a letter to Athens, to his master, by quidam mercator (129–31, arg. i. 5, arg. ii. 7); the master comes to Ephesus (95–137, arg. i. 6, 7, ii. 4–9). He tarries at the house of a paternus hospes (135, 635, 674–76, etc.). The scheme by which the Athenian sought to recover the meretrix is for us suggestive; it consists in the assertion that her twin sister, with her lover and her mother, had also come from Athens (287–347, 383–85, 411–14, etc.). The Athenian recovers the meretrix; with the slave the lovers go back to Athens (936–39, 1097–1103, 1145, 1146, 1184–93, 1311 ff.).

In the *Bacchides* Mnesilochus, while on a business trip to Ephesus, stops at Samos (472), and there loves a meretrix, Bacchis. After his departure a soldier, a peregrinus (1009), bargains with her for a year (42–46, 58–61, 104, 222–27, 573–76, 706, 1096–98), and takes her to Athens (574). Mnesilochus hears of this and sends a letter to a friend at Athens, begging him to find Bacchis (389–91, 188–96, 200, 367, 390, 391). When the play, as we have it, begins, Bacchis has but just arrived in Athens (94–106, 473), but is eager to return to Samos (43), supposing, no doubt, that Mnesilochus will look for her there. At Athens she had found her sister, of like name and trade with herself; by permission of the soldier she goes to visit that sister and then refuses to leave her. The soldier declares that unless she returns his money he will take her to Elatia, in Phocis (589–91).

[1] Cf. 355, 356, 127, 184, 185.

In *Mer.* 644 ff. Charinus, in despair about his love affairs, declares that he will exile himself from Athens: quam capiam civitatem cogito potissimum: Megares, Eretriam, Corinthum, Chalcidem, Cretam, Cyprum, Sicyonem, Cnidum, Zacynthum, Lesbiam, Boeotiam. In 857–63 he announces that he will find his love or die. In 932 ff., in a passage which seems to be a parody of some tragedy, he talks as if wholly insane, declaring that he will go in his search first to Cyprus (933), then to Chalcis (939). Indeed, in his delirium he fancies himself at these places in turn; at Chalcis he meets a hospes from Zacynthus, who tells him that the girl is in Athens (940–45). Thither he returns (946, 947).

The *Pseudolus* is laid in Athens. A Macedonian soldier (51, 346, 1152, 1209, 1210) had been in Athens (51–53, 616–19), had bought a meretrix, paying the purchase price, save five minae, and had then left Athens, with the understanding that the girl should be delivered to his messenger when the latter came with the five minae and a proper symbolus (51–59, 344–46, 616–19, etc.). The soldier seems now to be in Sicyon (995, 996, 1098, 1173–75). Presently his cacula, Harpax, comes to get the girl. Pseudolus outwits him, gets the all-important symbolus, and hires a sycophanta to play the rôle of Harpax (this sycophanta was a slave who only the day before had come for the first time to Athens, from Carystus: 727–30, 737). At 993–96 the Pseudo-Harpax, who is come to get the girl, urges the leno to make haste, because on the next day he must be at Sicyon. At 1173 the real Harpax appears; he explains that he had left Sicyon two days before; at this Ballio exclaims: strenue hercle iisti (1175).[1]

[1] Some incidental references to travel in connection with love affairs may be grouped here. In the *Truculentus* the arrival in Athens of a miles Babyloniensis, lover of the meretrix, is momentarily expected (84, 85, 413, 417, 474, 203, 204). A message from him has come (203, 204). He arrives presently (482), after an absence of nine or ten months (595, 596). In *Cis.* 578, 579 Gymnasium's mother, in a lie, declares that the meretrix Melaenis avecta est peregre hinc habitatum. Lampadio replies: quo avecta est, eo sequemur (580). The events of the *Rudens* spring out of the leno's attempt to move, with all his possessions, including the meretrices, from Cyrene to Sicily (49–63, etc.). Thais' mother, though a Samian, was resident in Rhodes (*Eun.*

Travels of kidnaped children.—We turn now to consider the travels of persons stolen in childhood by runaway slaves or carried off by pirates and kidnapers (praedones); such persons sometimes undergo remarkable experiences. Years afterward their kinsmen journey widely in search of them.

Of the two captives with whom the *Captivi* has primarily to do, one, Tyndarus, was in reality son of Hegio; twenty years before (980) a runaway slave had carried him off to Elis and had sold him into slavery there. Philocrates, while in Elis seeking to effect an exchange of prisoners, happens on this slave and brings him to Aetolia; through him the identity of Tyndarus is established (759–61, 873–76, 880, 4–10, 972–92, 1010–14, 17–23).

In the *Poenulus* a boy stolen from Carthage when seven years old is brought to Anactorium in Acarnania and thence to Calydon in Aetolia (64–67, 72, arg. 1-3). The boy is sold (73, 74); the purchaser presently adopts him (76, 77, 1038, 1056–77). In 896 ff. Syncerastus explains how his master, the leno, had bought two sisters and their nurse at Anactorium, de praedone Siculo (897);[1] the man who sold them had explained that they had been

107); hence Thais came to Athens with a lover (119, 120). In *Ph.* 510, 511 the leno declares that he has sold Pamphila to a miles (532); she is to go from Athens (517, 518, 548). Phaedria declares that he will follow her to the ends of the earth (549–54). In *Hec.* 85–87 we learn that a meretrix has been for two years with a soldier at Corinth, pining all the time for Athens (88–93). In *Cis.* 143, 144 there is a reference to an amator peregrinus of a Sicyonian meretrix.

Of value also to us is such a passage as *Ep.* 279, 280, where Epidicus urges Periphanes, after he buys the girl, to remove her aliquo ex urbe. So at 470 Periphanes, thinking he has sold this girl to a miles, bargains that the miles shall take her ex hoc agro. In *Mer.* 353–55 Charinus fears that if his father shall learn the truth about the ancilla, trans mare hinc venum asportet. In *And.* 381, 382 Davus tells Pamphilus that, if he holds out against marriage because of Glycerium, his father inveniet aliquam causam quam ob rem (eam) eiciat oppido.

[1] Certain passages show how common piracy was, though they do not involve actual carrying off of child or adult. In *Tr.* 1087–89 Charmides, who has just returned from Asia, says: ego miserrumeis periclis sum per maria maxuma vectus, capitali periclo per praedones plurumos me servavi, salvos redii. In *Men.* 441, 442, after Erotium has induced Menaechmus II to enter her house, Messenio exclaims: periit probe: ducit lembum dierectum navis praedatoria. Cf. 344, 345. An excellent commentary on these passages may be found in the *Bacchides*, in the story told by Chrysalus about the pirate ship (p. 20). To the old man the story so glibly told seemed wholly possible and reasonable; he raises no objection whatever to it. See also *Ps.* 895, 1029, *Tru.* 110, frag. 37, *Men.* 1015.

This passage from the *Bacchides* seems to show also that pirates were at times in league with presumably honest folk; cf. 282: is (navis) erat communis cum hospite

stolen from Carthage (84–95). The girls were ingenuae (894–900, 1187–90, 1239 ff., 1391–93). Milphio is delighted at Syncerastus' story, for his master too, Agorastocles, he says, had been stolen from Carthage. See also 901–4, 986, 987. Presently enters Hanno, a Carthaginian. He has a hospes at Calydon; to him or to his son he is bringing a tessera hospitalis (955–58, 1047–52). The account in the prologue (104 ff.) is instructive:

> sed pater illarum Poenus, posquam eas perdidit,
> mari te⟨rraque⟩ usquequaque quaeritat.
> ubi quamque in urbem est ingressus, ilico
> omnis meretrices, ubi quisque habitant, invenit;
> dat aurum, ducit noctem, rogitat postibi
> unde sit, quoiatis, captane an surrupta sit,
> quo genere gnata, qui parentes fuerint.
> ita docte atque astu filias quaerit suas.[1]

At 1082 ff., after Hanno has recognized Agorastocles as his nephew, he asks him to go back to Carthage; he offers to restore to him all his father's property. In 1419–21, in the exitus alter of the play, Agorastocles talks of going to Carthage, when he shall have auctioned off his possessions at Calydon (cf. the close of the *Menaechmi*).

In the *Rudens* Daemones, an Athenian, impoverished by his generosity, is resident in Cyrene, in voluntary exile (33–39);

et praedonibus. In the *Miles* the praedones who capture the slave give him to the soldier (arg. i. 2–4, 114–20). On the whole subject cf. E. Zarncke *Parallelen zur Entführungsgeschichte in Miles Gloriosus* (Bonn, 1883).

[1] It will be noted that the stolen children were usually girls; they were regularly, too, in actual life, converted into meretrices. In *Cur.* 494–98 the parasite says to the leno: egon ab lenone quicquam mancupio accipiam, quibus sui nihil est nisi una lingua qui abiurant si quid creditum est? alienos mancupatis, alienos manu emittitis alienisque imperatis, etc. Here the masculine is due to the generalizing form of the statement. Cf. 620. In the *Poenulus*, after Agorastocles had referred to the fact that he had been kidnaped, Hanno, who overhears, exclaims (988, 989): pro di immortales! plurumei ad illunc modum periere pueri liberi Carthagini! Yet this passage is not *per se* especially significant. He has been thinking for years of his own lost daughters; now he hears of another child stolen from Carthage. He may well say plurumei, etc. We may then set the passage aside, except in so far as the very plot of the play testifies to the frequency of kidnaping. I said above that in life the stolen girls regularly became meretrices. This is not always the case in the plays. In the *ἀναγνώρισις* the girl usually proves to be ingenua, in fact, a civis: hence the playwrights take pains to assure us that the girls have remained castae. Cf., e. g., *Cur.* 43–59, *Poe.* 98–100, 281, 282, 292, 300–307, 1096, *Eun.* 109–117.

there, too, the youth Plesidippus, likewise an Athenian, is resident (42 ff., 740 ff., 1197, 1198, 1268). Years before the daughter of Daemones, then but three years old (744), had been carried off by praedones (40, 744, 1105, 1111); a leno at Cyrene had bought her (39–41, 745, 106, 107, arg. 3–6). The girl tells her own story in 216–19; see also 393, 394, 649, 714, 736–44, 1104, 1105. The leno has with him at this time a hospes Siculus, Agrigentinus, who persuades him to close up his affairs at Cyrene and set sail for Sicily (49–66, 356 ff.). He is shipwrecked, however, on the first night of his voyage and he and the daughter of Daemones come ashore near Cyrene.

This motive of a kidnaped girl is strikingly employed in the *Persa*. In a letter purporting to come from Persia, from the master of Toxilus, we read (520–23) that the bearer is bringing forma expetenda liberalem virginem, furtivam, abductam ex Arabia penitissuma; eam te volo curare ut istic veneat.[1]

In *Eun.* 109–114 we have the story of a girl who was carried off when very young from Sunium by praedones; they gave her to a woman then resident at Rhodes, who began (eam) studiose omnia docere, educere, ita uti si filia esset (116, 117).[2] When, some dozen years later (318, 526), this woman died, her brother sold the girl to a miles, who brought her to Athens as a present to a meretrix there (130–34, 229–87).

In most of the cases thus far cited the child was carried off by marauders (praedones). A different case is presented by the *Menaechmi*. A Syracusan merchant took one of his twin sons with him to Tarentum ad mercatum (24 ff., 17, 1116–20). In the crowds that had come to see certain ludi the boy wandered away (31, 1111, 1112), was picked up by an Epidamnian merchant (32), who took him to Epidamnus (33–36), adopted him (57–61), and finally left him all his wealth (62–68). The other brother grows to manhood at Syracuse. For five years (234) he searches for the lost one, and is now on his way to Epidamnus. At 226 he appears; at 233 ff. his slave exclaims: Histros, Hispanos,

[1] Cf. 380, 715, 545, 546, 845.

[2] The girl was *ingenua;* her identity is established through her brother, a civis Atticus (202–6, 515–27, 912–16, 951–53). See p. 287, n. 1.

Massiliensis, Hilurios, mare superum omne Graeciamque exoticam orasque Italicas omnis, qua adgreditur mare, sumus circumvecti. si acum, credo, quaereres, acum invenisses, sei appareret, iam diu. The ἀναγνώρισις, though long delayed, is at last consummated and the brothers prepare to return to Sicily (1151–61).

In *Cur.* 487–524 Curculio gets a girl out of the leno's power. At 527–31 the leno, soliloquizing, tells us he had bought the girl when she was very young from a man he had never seen since. In 644–52 the girl herself explains that her mother had taken her spectatum per Dionysia; a wind storm came up, during which some man had carried her off. Still a different case presents itself in the *Miles*. There the soldier carried off from Athens to Ephesus, against her will, a meretrix ingenua (arg. ii. 1. 104–113). He detains her there for three years.[1]

Miscellaneous references to travel.—Some incidental allusions to travel, voluntary or involuntary, may now be grouped together. In *Pe.* 695, 696 Saturio, posing as a messenger from

[1] See p. 284, and p. 22, n. 1. In all the plays which involve the motive of the kidnaped child the scene is laid away from Athens, for, as Leo notes (*Pl. Forsch.*, p. 199, n. 3), "geraubte Kinder . . . . nicht nach Athen gebracht werden sollten." He refers to Hüffner *De Pl. com. exemplis Att.*, p. 24. Such children were carried away from Athens, as in the *Curculio* and the *Eunuchus*.

Kidnaping is expressed by various verbs: by rapio, *Poe.* arg. 4, etc.; by surripio, *Poe.* 66, 72, *Ru.* 1105, etc. Cf., too, the adjective surrupticius; e.g., *Poe.* 962. The passive of surripio is common, but we may note that pereo serves often as passive of rapio and surripio in this sense, as a sort of terminus technicus: see *Poe.* 987, 989, *Ru.* 39, 744, 1111 (contrast fuit . . . . surrupta, 1105), *Eun.* 522, 524.

Those who sold a stolen child refused to sell mancupio, i. e., with a clear title, with a guarantee; they sold at the purchaser's risk. Cf. *Pe.* 524, 525, 532, 589, 655, 714–18. In *Mer.* 449 Charinus, to deter his father from buying the ancilla, says: non ego illam mancupio accepi. In *Cur.* 490–94 the leno is fatuous enough to give the girl to Curculio mancupio; Lyco, the banker, is more conservative, for, fearing that some one may prove the girl to be ingenua, he makes the leno promise to repay him his money if such an event occurs (490–92, 668 ff., 709 ff.). It is evident that people, though they knew that children had been stolen, bought them without compunction (or fear of money loss); cf. *Poe.* 1391–93. Of the lenones one would expect nothing better. In *Eun.* 109–114 a *mercator* buys such a child. In the *Captivi* the man who purchased a four-year-old boy from a runaway slave was a man of position and substance. In the *Menaechmi* a mercator of wealth carries off a lost boy; in Athens itself (*Cur.* 644–52) a man carries off a little girl from among the spectators at the Dionysia. By word of mouth men condemned the slave trade (cf. the parasite's words, *Cap.* 98–101, 129–32), but in practice they were willing to profit by that trade. In a word, the world in general had no more genuine feeling in this connection than the slave Stalagmus had; when he was asked about the boy whom he had sold he said: argentum accepi, nil curavi ceterum (*Cap.* 989).

Persia, claims to have heard that his twin brother is in Athens as a slave: he wants to find him and set him free. Toxilus helps the story along (697–99): videor vidisse hic forma persimilem tui, eadem statura. In *Mo.* 497 the ghost says: ego transmarinus hospes sum Diapontius. See also *Men.* 414.

In the *Captivi* the slave Stalagmus runs away (p. 286) beyond seas. In various passages a slave talks of running away (*Cap.* 121–24, *Cas.* 952, 954, 960, *Ep.* 615, 664, *Mi.* 582–84, 861, *Mo.* 862, 863, *Ph.* 190, *Hec.* 424, 425. Cf. *Men.* 80, 87–95). *fugitivos* is a term of reproach (*Cas.* 397, *Poe.* 382, *Ps.* 365); cf. similar use of *fugitare*, *As.* 485. In *Cap.* 209 the captives scorn the thought that they would imitate *fugitivi servi*.

Removals from one place to another are at times mentioned. In *Poe.* 93–95 a leno removes from Anactorium to Calydon, sui quaesti causa. Cf. *Pe.* 137, 138: istic leno non sex menses Megaribus huc est quom commigravit. In the *Rudens* Daemones, impoverished, goes into voluntary retirement from Athens to Cyrene (33–38). In the same play the leno undertakes to remove, for business reasons, from Cyrene to Sicily (49–63). In *Cur.* 559 Cappadox fears that the banker will depart exulatum, to rob him of his money. In *And.* 69–72 we read that Chrysis removed from Andros to Athens; neglected by her kinsmen at Andros, she hoped to fare better at Athens. In *Eun.* 107 Thais declares that her mother was a Samian; she resided, however, at Rhodes. In the *Heauton* (96, 629, 630) we hear of an anus paupercula, e Corintho advena, in Athens.

Of significance for us is the use of the word hospes, at times, as the equivalent of *ξένος*, denoting a friend of a different nationality, so that it is suggestive of travel beyond seas. In the *Poenulus* the senex at Calydon who buys and adopts the boy stolen from Carthage is hospes of that boy's uncle (75, 119, 120). To that hospes or to his son, if he is himself no longer living, Hanno, the uncle, brings a tessera hospitalis (955–58, 1042–53). Cf. especially 1047: tesseram conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam attuli, 1052: haec mi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit. According to the *Bacchides* Nicobulus, of Athens, had a hospes at Ephesus, Archidemides, with whom he had deposited 1,200 Philippi (230, 231, 250–94, 355, 686, 958). Mnesilochus, son of Nicobulus, had gone to Ephesus to get this money, taking with him a *symbolus* (263–68). In the *Miles* the Athenian lover tarries at Ephesus apud suom paternum hospitem (135, 136, 175, 506, 533, 555, 635, 738, 746, 752, 937).[1] In the *Mercator* the Athenian mercator has a hospes at Rhodes (98, 102, 104). In 940 he says he has a hospes at Chalcis, who hails from Zacynthus. In *Cur.* 429 the soldier, now in Caria, writes thus: miles Lyconi in Epidauro hospiti suo. In the *Rudens* the leno at Cyrene and an Agrigentine are hospites (the Agrigentine had been visiting the Cyrenaean; 49, 50, 72, 451, 491, 500, 571, 883). Demipho, an Athenian, has a hospes in Cilicia (*Ph.* 66–68);[2] Pamphilus claims to have a hospes at Myconos (*Hec.* 432, 801, 804).[3]

Letters.—Significant, also, for our purposes are the references to transmission of letters across the seas, especially to Athens. Cf. *As.* 761 ff.: aut quod illa dicat peregre allatam epistulam, ne epistula quidem ulla sit in aedibus nec cerata adeo tabula. In *Ba.* 388–90 we read of a letter from Ephesus to Athens; cf. 176, 177, 190–99. Palaestrio sends a letter from Ephesus to his master at Athens by quidam mercator (*Mi.* 130–33, arg. i. 5, ii. 7). Stratippocles, on military duty at Thebes, sent letters daily to Athens (*Ep.* 58, 131–38: cf. 251 ff.). Charinus, just back from Rhodes, has or pretends to have commissions (messages) to friends (*Mer.* 385, 374–77, 463). Cf. *Pe.* 694. At *Ps.*

[1] Cf. *ξεῖνος πατρώιος*, *Il.* vi. 215, etc. In *Miles* 488, 495, 510, 555 Periplectomenes calls Philocomasium his hospita. This need mean no more than 'my guest,' but since she is so closely associated in his thoughts with Pleusicles, the word still conveys the idea of one who comes from distant (foreign) parts.

[2] In other passages hospes means rather 'stranger,' with the accessory suggestion that the stranger comes from a distance, especially a distance by sea. In *As.* 361, 416, 431, 582 the messenger from the merchant at Pella is called, in Athens, a hospes. In *Pe.* 527, 529, 544, 604, 612 the messenger who is supposed to have come from Persia is called, in Athens, hospes. In *Poe.* 1005, Agorastocles, speaking to his slave of Hanno, of whose arrival they are witnesses, and whose costume is distinctive (p. 297), says: nolo ego errare hospitem. In *Ru.* 583 Sceparnio refuses to admit the shipwrecked Charmides to the villa, saying: barbarum hospitem mi in aedis nil moror. In *Mo.* 497 the ghost says: ego transmarinus hospes sum Diapontius. Cf. also *And.* 810, 817, 843. In *Ph.* 605 hunc—hospitem is mockingly said, 'this new *arrival* from foreign parts, this globe-trotter.'

[3] *Peregrinus* is not specially suggestive of distance. In the *Andria* the women from Andros are called *peregrinae;* cf. *Poe.* 175 dicatque se peregrinum esse ex alio oppido, *Epid.* 126, etc.

647 Harpax brings a letter from the soldier, now at Sicyon, to Ballio; in the letter is a symbolus (cf. also 669, 670, 706, 716, 1202, 1208). Pseudolus gets possession of the letter and through it of the meretrix (983–1051). The letter is read in 998–1001, 1009–14. Frequent references have already been made to the letter which in the *Persa* is supposed to have come from Persia. In *St.* 29–36 the *matronae* express surprise that no word has come from their husbands, though they have been gone for more than two years. They are, however, still hoping for a message (148, 149). In *Tr.* 774–77 Callicles suggests, as a means of getting a dowry for Charmides' daughter, that two letters be prepared, purporting to come from Charmides, now in Seleucia, conveying money. See also 788–95, 815–18, 848–50, 875, 894–902, 949–51, 986, 1002. From *Tru.* 202, 204 it appears that a letter has come from the soldier concerning his arrival in Athens (cf. 397–400, 412, 413). According to *Ph.* 67, 68 Demipho was lured from Athens by letters from a hospes in Cilicia. In 149 reference is made to a letter from Demipho which is then in the hands of the portitores (see p. 294); Geta goes to claim this letter (150).

In *Mi.* 1362, 1363 Palaestrio pretends to be loath to leave the soldier and to depart from Ephesus; si forte liber fieri occeperim, he says, mittam nuntium ad te. The plot of the *Menaechmi* depends on the assumption that word had been brought to Syracuse of the fate at Tarentum of the boy and his father.[1] In *Cur.* 143, 225, 324, 325 it is implied that a letter or messenger had come from Curculio, from Caria to Epidaurus, though he had gone but three or four days in all. According to 345–48 it had been arranged that the leno should deliver the girl to anyone who brought him a letter sealed with the soldier's ring. Curculio gets possession of the ring (356–61); a letter is manufactured (365, 369, 370, 411–22, 545–51).[2]

[1] Still, this could easily have been brought by persons on the ship by which the father had gone to Tarentum (24–27).

[2] To letters sent within Athens itself references are made in *Pe.* 247, 196, 248, 272 (the distance covered was small). In *Ps.* 10, 11, 20–59 we have a letter from Phoenicium to Calidorus. For the sealing of letters cf. *Ps.* 706, 988, *Tr.* 788–95, *Cur.* 345–48, *Ba.* 789, 986, *Cur.* 423. For a good description of the writing, fastening, and sealing of a letter see *Ba.* 715, 728–48.

Summary.—The foregoing pages amply show that travel across the seas, between points widely separated, was common in Menander's time. For the most part, travel was on matters of business; this remark holds true even of travel undertaken to find stolen children, for such journeying was not undertaken for pleasure. The traveler, then, for the most part goes against his will, to search for long lost kin, or he goes with some definite motive, arising out of war, or business in the narrower sense, or out of the intrigues connected with some love affair.[1]

We may now consider certain matters connected in various ways with travel.

Seasickness.—Seasickness is occasionally mentioned. In *Am.* 329, 330 Sosia cries: lassus sum hercle e navi, ut vectus huc sum: etiam nunc nauseo. Cf. *Mer.* 387–89: usquine valuisti? perpetuo recte, dum quidem illic fui; verum in portum huc ut sum advectus, nescio qui animus mihi dolet. nausea edepol factum credo; verum actutum apscesserit. For this Vss. 368–73 have well prepared the way. In *Ru.* 510, 511 Labrax, recently shipwrecked, cries: perii! animo male fit. contine quaeso caput. CHAR. pulmoneum edepol nimis velim vomitum vomas.[2]

[1] That people at Athens were willing, however, to travel for the mere pleasure of seeing new sights, i. e., with an attitude of mind somewhat akin to that of the modern tourist can be demonstrated by Thuc. vi. 24. 3. Speaking of the motives which made the Athenians so enthusiastic for the Sicilian expedition Thucydides says: *καὶ ἔρως ἐνέπεσε τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐκπλεῦσαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις ὡς ἢ καταστρεψομένοις ἐφ' ἃ ἔπλεον ἢ οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖσαν μεγάλην δύναμιν, τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῆς τε ἀπούσης πόθῳ ὄψεως καὶ θεωρίας καὶ εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι.*

Now and then we get a fleeting hint of this sort in Plautus. In *Cur.* 339 the parasite, describing his meeting with the soldier in Caria, says: rogat (me) quid veniam Cariam; dico me illo advenisse *animi caussa*. We may set here also the references to the crowds that gathered to witness the Panathenaic procession at Athens (*Mer.* 61–68, *Cur.* 644–52), games at Tarentum (*Men.* 24–28), and at Sicyon (*Cis.* 156, 157). In *Cis.* 156, 157 nothing is said directly of the attendance of spectators at the games, but it was the presence of such spectators (bent primarily on amusement, but willing, no doubt, to take advantage of the trading opportunities afforded by such an occasion) that made it worth the mercator's while to come to Sicyon.

An interesting passage is *Men.* 247, 248. Messenio, using the freedom allowed to a trusted slave, has been chiding his master for spending so much time, energy, and money in a fruitless quest (230–41). He concludes:

> in scirpo nodum quaeris. quin nos hinc domum
> redimus, nisi si historiam scripturi sumus?

"Why don't we go home unless we are gathering materials for a book of travels?" For the sense given to historiam cf., e. g., Lucian's *Ἀληθὴς Ἱστορία*.

[2] Rolfe "Some References to Seasickness in the Ancient Writers" *Proc. Am. Phil. Assoc.*, xxxiv, p. v, cites only *Am.* 329, *Mer.* 388 from Plautus. Certain other

Portitores.—On returning from foreign parts travelers had to face the portitores.[1] In *St.* 366–69 we read:

> dum percontor portitores ecquae navis venerit
> ex Asia, negant venisse: conspicatus sum interim
> cercurum, quo ego me maiorem non vidisse censeo.

The portitores were evidently authorities on the arrival or non-arrival of ships, presumably because every ship had to report to them and be examined by them.[2] Of the nature of this examination we get a good hint in *Men.* 114–18: "Every time I go anywhere you want to know all about it," says husband to wife; portitorem domum duxi, ita omnem mihi rem necesse eloqui est, quidquid egi atque ago.

To the portitores letters came (see *Ph.* 149, 150). That they broke open and inspected letters appears from *Tr.* 788–95; cf. 793 ff.: si opsignatas non feret, dici hoc potest, apud portitorem eas resignatas sibi inspectasque esse.

Money (portorium), for port fees and tariff dues, I suppose, was paid to the portitores; it would seem that until such dues were paid nothing could be removed from a ship. Cf. *Tr.* 1103–8: curre in Piraeum . . . . iubeto Sangarionem quae imperaverim curare ut ecferantur (ex navi), et tu ito simul. solutumst portitori iam portorium: nihil est morae.[3]

passages lie somewhat close to our subject; in these evidence accumulates that voyaging on the deep was not viewed as an unalloyed pleasure. In *Ba.* 105, 106 the Athenian Bacchis says to her sister: uti navi vecta's, credo, timida es. In *Men.* 226–28 Messenio tells how pleasant it is to get to land (but he has been traveling for five years and is sick from surfeiting on too much). For references to buffeting by the waves see *Mi.* 414, *Mo.* 431–37, *St.* 419, 420. In *Poe.* 210 ff. a woman, in a canticum, brings navis et mulier together as things liable to give one trouble. In *Tr.* 1087–89 there is a general reference to hardships on the sea, with special allusion to praedones (cf. 827, 838). In *Hec.* 415–25 Sosia, just back from Imbros, says: non hercle verbis . . . . dici potest tantum quam re ipsa navigare incommoduinst. In 421–23 he continues:

> dies triginta aut plus eo in navi fui,
> quom interea semper mortem expectabam miser;
> ita usque advorsa tempestate usi sumus.

But *triginta dies* can hardly be taken literally. To the slave (as to the meretrix, *Hec.* 85–93) there was only one place in the world, Athens. Cf. p. 285, n. 1.

[1] On the meaning of portitor see Norden on *Aen.* vi. 298, and my paper in the *School Review* XIII, p. 493.

[2] In *Ph.* 462 Demipho says: percontatum ibo ad portum (i. e., probably, ad portitores), quoad se recipiat. *Hec.* 76, 77 is similar.

[3] These bonafide payments light up certain figurative uses of portorium. In *As.* 158 the lena says to Argyrippus: quam magis te in altum capessis, tam aestus te in portum refert. ego pol istum portitorem privabo portorio. Cf. also 241, 242: portitorum (portuum, Lindsay) simillumae sunt ianuae lenoniae: si adfers, tum patent: si non est quod des, aedes non patent.

Tabernae.—Travelers occasionally put up at taverns. In *Men.* 435–37 Menaechmus bids Messenio take the pedisequi (and the vasa) to a taberna devorsoria.[1] At 557 Menaechmus goes off to seek Messenio; after a fruitless quest he exclaims (703): immersit aliquo sese, credo, in ganeum, in his impatience substituting the disreputable *ganeum* (*As.* 887) for *taberna devorsoria.* In *Ps.* 658, 659 (the real) Harpax says:

> ego devortor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam[2]
> apud anum illam doliarem, claudam, crassam, Chrysidem.

Harpax, departing (660), bids Pseudolus send for him when the *leno* returns. Meanwhile, he says, he will dine at the taberna and then sleep (664); cf. 661: nam ut lassus veni de via, me volo curare. He waits in vain for Pseudolus there (1116–20).[3]

Costume.—Hints may be got here and there of the costume of travelers. A marked feature of this was the petasus, the broad-brimmed hat.[4] In the *Amphitruo* Jupiter and Amphitruo are garbed exactly alike, except that Jupiter has a torulus aureus sub petaso (144, 145, 121–23, 131–35). Sosia is distinguishable from Mercury only by the pinnulae on his petasus (141–43, 124–30, 265, 441–46, 455–58, 600, 601). In 443–45 Sosia says of Mercury: itidem habet petasum ac vestitum: tam consimilest atque ego; sura, pes, statura, tonsus, etc. We must suppose that the petasus was hanging down Mercury's back; otherwise the tonsus would not be observable.[5] Harpax, a cacula militis,

[1] Cf. 986, 987, 1035–37.

[2] We note two things about this taberna. (1) It is tertia extra portam. One who remembers how relatively numerous the tabernae are in Pompeii just within the gates, as in Stabian Street, or just without the gates, as in the Street of the Tombs, will appreciate this passage. (2) The taberna is kept by an anus. We may compare copa Syrisca of the Copa, and cum venali Cyane succincta lagona of Juvenal viii. 162. We may compare also the tavern sign at Pompeii which represents a hostess reckoning the dues of a departing guest. St. Augustine (*De civ. Dei* xviii. 18) refers to hostesses.

[3] In *Tru.* 697 Truculentus, about to enter the house of Phronesium, the meretrix, calls it a taberna devorsoria, where he will be sure to get bad treatment. Cf. Wroth in Smith *Dict. of Antiq., s. v.* "Caupona," on the character of ancient taverns.

[4] See Smith *Dict. of Antiq.* II, p. 428, Marquardt *Privatl.* p. 572.

[5] For this mode of wearing the petasus see Smith *loc. cit.*

wears the petasus (*Ps.* 1186; cf. 735). The sycophanta in the *Trinummus* wears an extraordinarily wide petasus; Charmides, who is watching him, exclaims (851): pol hic quidem fungino generest; capite se totum tegit.[1]

The pallium is the ordinary costume of men in the plays: (cf. the term "fabula palliata"). It was sometimes worn, too, on journeys. Sosia, sent forward by night by the impatient Amphitruo, wears tunicae consutae (*Am.* 367) and pallium (294). In the *Rudens* Labrax, the leno, after the shipwreck, is wearing a tunicula and a pallium (549, 550). This was his costume at the outset, for of a change of costume there is no hint; the shipwreck kept him too busy for that.[2]

The miles (or his messenger) regularly wears a chlamys (*Cur.* 632, *Ep.* 435, 436, *Poe.* 620, 644, *Ps.* 735, 963, 964, 1101, 1139, 1143, 1184), a petasus (*Ps.* 735, 1186), and a machaera (*Ba.* 887, *Cur.* 567, 632, *Ps.* 592, 735, 1185, *Mer.* 926, *Tru.* 927, 627).[3] In *Mer.* 830–944 Charinus talks of leaving home, not militatum, but to search for his lost love. His costume has its points of resemblance, however, to that of a miles. When ready to depart he wears a chlamys (912). On hearing that his love is close at hand, he changes his mind about going and calls a slave out to take his chlamys and give him a pallium (cf. 912, 913 with 922). Presently he resolves again to go, and again calls for his chlamys (921, 922). He has a zona (925), a machaera (926), and an ampulla (927).[4]

[1] Mr. Wroth (Smith *Dict. of Antiq.* I, p. 388) thinks this was a causea. In *Pe.* 155 Sagaristio is instructed to wear tunica, zona, chlamys, and causea while he poses as the messenger who had brought the stolen maiden from Persia. In *Mi.* 1178 the causea is worn by a sailor.

[2] See also *Cur.* 355.

[3] The machaera marked the wearer at once as a soldier or a peregrinus (cf. *Pe.* 155–57, *Ps.* 917, 918). The Athenians were the first of the Greeks to abandon the habit of wearing arms (Thuc. i. 6. 1–3). Cf. also the story told by Herod. vi. 35 of Miltiades: *ὁρέων τοὺς Δολόγκους παριόντας ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρίην καὶ αἰχμὰς προσεβώσατο καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγείλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια.*

[4] For this ampulla cf. Naudet *ad loc.*: "mos erat pedes oleo ungere, antequam calceos induerent (he cites Hesychius in support of this statement): itaque peregre abeuntes ampullam secum portabant, quae oleum in eum usum suppeditaret. Cf. also, perhaps, *Pe.* 124, with Naudet's note.

To the costume of Sagaristio in the *Persa* reference has already been made (p. 296, n. 1). Cf. also 462, 463, also said of that costume.

The ornatus thalassicus is described in *Mi.* 1177–82:

> facito uti venias ornatu huc ad nos nauclerico;
> causeam habeas ferrugineam, scutulam ob oculos laneam,
> palliolum habeas ferrugineum (nam is colos thalassicust),
> id conexum in umero laevo, exfafillato bracchio,
> praecinctus aliqui: adsimulato quasi gubernator sies;
> atque apud hunc senem omnia haec sunt, nam is piscatores habet.

We may assume that this costume was worn by the mercator, whom Plautus so often mentions. That it was readily recognizable as a sailor's costume appears from *Mi.* 1281–83: nescio quis eccum incedit ornatu quidem thalassico. . . . . nauclerus hicquidem est.[1] In *As.* 69 there is a reference to the nauclericus ornatus, but no description.

In the *Poenulus* Hanno, a Carthaginian, comes to Calydon. His costume is manifestly distinctive; it is recognized at once as Punic by Milphio and his master Agorastocles (977) and as African by Antamoenides, the miles (1304). He wears no pallium (976); his tunic is long, and has long hanging sleeves (1298, 1303), so that Milphio, watching him approach, asks (975): sed quae illaec avis est quae huc cum tunicis advenit? He is called tunicatus in 1121. In 1008 Milphio asks him why, though he has no sona (zona), he has come to Calydon.[2] To Antamoenides, the miles, Hanno seems to be garbed like a woman (1303).

Of women's traveling costume we get but meager hints. In *Ep.* 527 Philippa, a native of Epidaurus, but resident now in Thebes, is in Athens looking for her daughter. As soon as he sees her Periphanes says (533): quis illaec est mulier timido pectore peregre adveniens . . . . ? Philippa had said nothing

[1] The scutula lanea (*Mi.* 1178, 1430) is not a regular part of the costume. The pseudo-nauclerus explains (1306–10): amoris caussa hercle hoc ego oculo utor minus. On ferrugineus see editors here, Merrill and Ellis on Catullus lxiv. 227, Munro on Lucr. iv. 76.

[2] In *Ps.* 738 Pseudolus says of the substitute Harpax: manuleatam tunicam habere hominem addecet. See Lorenz *ad loc.*

to indicate that she was peregrina.[1] According to *Pe.* 157 Saturio's daughter is to be ornata lepide in peregrinum modum, that she may pose as a captive from Arabia via Persia. In 464 Toxilus says of her: tum hanc hospitam autem crepidula ut graphice decet!

The *Menaechmi* presents an interesting phenomenon. Had the Syracusan Menaechmus worn the usual traveling costume, no one in Epidamnus would have confused him with his brother, or at any rate explanations would soon have been forthcoming and the chain of events out of which the play is built could not have happened. Plautus therefore (and, we may suppose, his original) for this play disregarded the facts of travel and ignored the whole matter of costume. Cf. Langen, *Plautinische Studien*, pp. 148, 149.

Pedisequi.—The traveler who comes home from abroad commonly has with him two pedisequi. These pedisequi are usually mutae personae.[1] They are present on the stage in *Am.* 551–854, *Ba.* 385–525, *Men.* 226–445 (cf. 436, 986), *Poe.* 930–1173 (see 978–80). *Hec.* 359, 360 would seem to show (what we should a priori expect) that such pedisequi went with the traveler from home and were with him at every stage of his journey, for when Pamphilus says: tu pueris curre, Parmeno, obviam atque eis onera adiuta, Parmeno rejoins: quid? non sciunt ipsi viam domum qua veniant? Cf. 409, 429.[2]

[1] We have evidence elsewhere that foreign costumes are instantly recognizable as such. Cf. p. 296, n. 3. In *Tr.* 852 Charmides says of the sycophanta: Hilurica facies videtur hominis, eo ornatu advenit. Cf. also *Poe.* 656, 675, 801, *Ps.* 616–22, 964, *Eun.* 313–18.

[2] Sometimes the traveler has but one attendant. In *As.* 382 the messenger who comes to pay the money has a puer; in *Ba.* 573 ff. the soldier's messenger has a puer. In *Tru.* 482 ff. (see 535) the miles has a puer. Cf. also *Cur.* 390, *Ep.* 437. If the traveler comes straight from ship to stage, he has two attendants (for then his baggage must be taken care of); if he comes from lodgings in town he has but one. We may remember with profit the fact that hoplites (at least) in the Athenian army had servants with them; see Thuc. vi. 102. 2, and Mr. Spratt's note (p. 364, ll. 2, 3). *Poe.* 978, 979 may show that Hanno had more than two pedisequi with him, but he had made an exceptionally long journey.

On the other hand in *Mer.* 852 ff. Charinus, who is resolved to go from home, has no attendant. In 910 ff., when he wishes to exchange his chlamys for a pallium, he has to call a puer from the house. Finally, beside the pedisequi, a traveler often had with him a favorite or trusted slave. So in the *Bacchides* Mnesilochus had Chrysalus with him; in the *Mercator* Charinus had with him on his two-year trading-trip his one-time *paedagogus* (90, 91, 108, 109).

Baggage.—Travelers carried at times a goodly amount of baggage. In the *Amphitruo* reference is made to gifts, including a patera aurea, presented to Amphitruo by the vanquished Teloboae (137–39, 260, 261, 418–20, 760). The patera is supposed to be in a cistula (420), which is sealed (421). At 629 Amphitruo says to Sosia: vide ex navi ecferantur quae imperavi iam omnia. Later, Amphitruo has with him a sealed cistellula (773–97); Sosia opens it (787 ff.), but finds no patera within.

In *Ep.* 22, 23 when Thesprio asserts that his master is back in Athens Epidicus exclaims: ubi is ergost? nisi si in vidulo aut si in mellina attulisti. In *Men.* 350, 986, 1035 we have reference to baggage, vasa. Part of this is a marsuppium cum viatico, in a vidulus (1036, 1037, 254, 255, 384–86, 701–3, etc.); in the vidulus is a *peniculus* (286, 391). In the *Miles* Philocomasium, when she leaves the soldier, has aurum et vestis (981, 982, 1099, 1100, 1301–1314, etc.); several bearers are needed to carry her possessions (1191, 1301 ff., 1427). In *Poe.* 978–81 Hanno has pedisequi, sarcinati omnes; they are so burdened that Milphio calls them servi veteres antiquique (they are bent like old men).

In the *Rudens* reference is made repeatedly to a vidulus belonging to the leno (545, 546, 936 *a*, 963 ff., 988–93, etc.). The leather covering of the vidulus is colored (997–1000). Vs. 1177 shows that the vidulus is heavy. And well it may be, for it contains much. First we may name the crepundia, by which Palaestra is proven to be the daughter of Daemones; these include ensiculus aureolus litteratus, securicula ancipes, itidem aurea, litterata, sicilicula argenteola et duae conexae maniculae et sucula, and bulla aurea (1156–71). All these are in a cistella of wood (1109, 1133, 389–93, 1081–86, etc.). There is money, too, in the vidulus (395, 396), in a marsuppium (1313–15). For a general description of the contents see 1309–20; they include aurum atque argentum magnum, nummi octingenti aurei in marsuppio, praeterea centum minaria Philippica in pasceolo sorsus, talentum argenti commodum magnum . . . . in crumina, praeterea sinus, cantharus, epichysis, gaulus, cyathus.[1] Charmides,

[1] Someone may object that the leno is lying, but (1) the *vidulus* was now open before the eyes of Daemones and Gripus, neither of whom comments on or disputes

the leno's hospes, had had a sacciperium, in which was a marsuppium, plenum auri (547, 548).

In *Tr.* 1105, 1106 Charmides refers to things which he desires to have brought up from his ship. In *Hec.* 359 Pamphilus bids Parmeno run to meet the pueri and to help them with their burdens. In the *Truculentus* the soldier has brought two ancillae ex Syria (530–33), a perula (535), a pallula ex Phrygia (536, 539), tus ex Arabia, amomum ex Ponto (539, 540), gifts which might be sold for twenty minae (543, 544).[1]

The passages thus far cited all deal with travel over seas. In the *Heauton* a meretrix comes from Athens to stay a short time ruri (245 ff., 311 ff.); she is bringing with her much baggage (245–48, 252–54, 451, 452, 739–45).[2] Cf. *Hec.* 611 f.: et compone quae tecum simul (*sc.* rus) ferantur, said by Laches to his wife.[3]

Thanksgiving by returned travelers.—The returned traveler commonly gives thanks to the gods for his safe return. Cf. *Ba.* 346, 347: ubi nunc est ergo meus . . . . filius? deos atque amicos iit salutatum ad forum. In *St.* 402–5 Epignomus gives thanks to Neptune and the Tempestates for his safe return, and to Mercury for his success in trading. In 623 Pamphilippus says: deos salutabo modo, poste ad te continuo transeo (cf. *Ph.* 311, 312). Sometimes the thanks are not wholly courteous, as in *Mo.* 431–37. *Tr.* 820–38 is the most elaborate passage that can be cited in this connection; in 838, 839 its tone approaches that of *Mo.* 431 ff. Sometimes we have a sacrifice of thanksgiving or the formal payment of vows. In *Am.* 946–48 Amphitruo bids vasa pura adornari mihi, ut quae apud legionem vota vovi si domum rediissem salvos, ea ego exsolvam omnia (cf. 966–68). In *Cap.* 843–51 the parasite takes it for granted that there will be a sacrifice and a feast, because Philocrates has returned, bringing with him the slave who had run away years before. The kinsmen of

the leno's statements, (2) the leno was removing his whole fortune from Cyrene to Sicily (49–63, etc.).

[1] I purposely omit such cases as those of the brothers in the *Stichus*, who return home after two years, each in a ship of his own, richly laden (374–83); such passages have to do rather with general trade.

[2] For a commentary on the things a meretrix might bring with her see *Tr.* 250–54.

[3] In *Ba.* 349 there is a reference to mules as carriers; cf. *Mo.* 430, 778–82, *Ph.* 561.

voyagers sometimes give thanks or make a sacrifice in connection with their return. In *Ep.* 314–16 Epidicus explains that his master had bidden him hire a fidicina, to play for him dum rem divinam faceret, because his son was home again (414–18, 499–501). In *St.* 396, 397 the wife of Epignomus gives orders for a sacrifice, because she has heard of his safe return.[1]

Greetings to returned travelers.—In many passages we have words of courteous greeting to a traveler just returned; these include congratulations, inquiries after his health at present and during his voyage. Salvos sis, Mnesiloche, salvom te advenisse gaudeo (*Ba.* 456), said by father to son, is typical. Cf. *Hec.* 455–57, also said by father to son. Typical again is *Mo.* 448, 449: ere, salve, salvom te advenisse gaudeo. usquin valuisti? usque, ut vides. factum optume. How stereotyped the formula was may be seen from *Tr.* 1073, 1074: o mi ere exoptatissume, salve. salve, Stasime. salvom te . . . . scio et credo tibi. The other passages pertinent here are *Mo.* 805, 806 (senex to senex), *St.* 505–9 (senex, who is virtually a parasitus, to his sons-in-law), *Am.* 714–16, 799, 800 (wife to husband: cf. 680 ff.), *Mo.* 1128, 1129 (adulescens to senex), *Tr.* 1180–82 (son to father), *Ph.* 254–56 (adulescens to uncle), *Ep.* 126–29, *Ph.* 286 (slave to master), *Ph.* 609–611 (slave to master's brother), *Hec.* 81–84 (slave to meretrix), *Tru.* 503, 504 (ancilla to miles), *St.* 465–67, 470, 471, 583–86 (parasite to senex), *Hec.* 353 (mother to son), *Poe.* 685, 686 (leno to vilicus, who is masquerading as a miles), *Ep.* 7–11, 17–19 (slave to slave), *Heaut.* 406, 407 (amica to lover). In *Eun.* 976 Parmeno, in sore distress, catching sight of his older master coming rure, cries: salvom te advenire, ere, gaudeo. In *Mer.* 366 ff. father and son meet after two years; the father is solicitous enough (367, 369, 371, 387–89), but certain special circumstances prevent the utterance of the usual formulas.[2]

[1] With these passages we may compare many others later, e.g., Horace *Carm.* i. 5. 13–16, and the numerous examples of the payment of such vows afforded by Italian churches, for instance, the Church of S. Antonino at Sorrento. Cf., too, the thanksgiving ordered by Dido (*Aen.* i. 632) for the safe coming of Aeneas; she gives a dinner also (637–42, 695–756; see below, p. 302). Cf. also the conduct of Aufidius Luscus in Horace *Serm.* i. 5. 35, 36. *Am.* 180–84 bears, I think, on this subject; see my paper in the *Classical Review* VII, pp. 21, 22.

[2] Congratulations are sometimes extended to the family (see *Tr.* 1178). The prac-

Banquet to returned traveler.—It was usual to give a dinner party to one just returned from foreign travel, on the very day of his return (hodie, *Ba.* 94, *Mer.* 949, *Mo.* 1129, *Pe.* 710, *St.* 511). Cf. *Ba.* 186, 94: ego sorori meae cenam hodie dare volo viaticam (95–102), 536, 537 (Pistoclerus to Mnesilochus: salvos quom peregre advenis, cena detur), *Cur.* 251–53, 384–88, 728 (Phaedromus here invites the miles, just back from Caria, to dinner; still, he is to marry the soldier's sister), *Mer.* 98, 99 (dinner to an Athenian at Rhodes by his hospes there), *Mo.* 1129–34, *Pe.* 709, 710, *Poe* 1151 (dinner by Agorastocles to his newly found uncle), *Tru.* 127. In *St.* 587–91 the parasite expresses his regret that he is not rich enough to invite Pamphilippus to dinner. In *St.* 510–13 Antipho recognizes his obligation to invite the brothers, his sons-in-law, who are just back from Asia, to dinner hodie. Since, however, he has been forestalled in this, he invites them for the next day.[1]

Conveyances.—At the very beginning of this paper I quoted Blümner's statement that we need an account of traveling vehicles in ancient times. On this theme the plays throw no light. I have noted no passage in which there is reference to any kind of vehicle as actually used in land travel. This is natural, since, as was said above (p. 16), land travel in the plays involves movement only between some city and its portus or its suburbs; such travel was pursued on foot. quadrigae are mentioned in *Am.* 450, *As.* 279, *Aul.* 600, *Poe.* 369, *St.* 291, but in figurative or extravagant expressions.[1] In *Men.* 863, 865 Menaechmus talks of mounting a currus, but he is feigning madness. In *Mer.* 931 (likewise, I take it, a parody of some tragedy), Charinus fancies himself mounting a currus, and taking the reins in hand, but in 932 he is on foot! In *Mo.* 778–82, 429, 430 there is reference to muli clitellarii (cf. *Ba.* 349, *Ph.* 561), but there is no proof that we must think of them as carrying riders too.

Ships of different kinds are referred to, but none is described. The term most often used is navis; references need not be given. We find navis mercatoria in *Ba.* 236, navis oneraria in *Poe.* 651. Other terms are navis cercurus (*Mer.* 86) and cercurus alone (*St.* 368, 369: conspicatus sum . . . . cercurum, quo ego me maiorem non vidisse censeo, 413 in cercuro, in stega); celox, *Cap.* 874: filium tuom modo in portu . . . . vidi in puplica celoce (in *As.* 258, *Mi.* 986, *Ps.* 1306 celox is figuratively used; so too celocula, *Mi.* 1006); lembus, *Ba.* 279, 286 ff., 305 ff., 958, of the pirate ship.[2] For ratis and catapirateria in a figurative passage see *Aul.* 597, 598. In *Mer.* 259, 193, Demipho puts off in a lembus to his son's ship, just arrived from Rhodes, exactly as the traveler today, in Mediterranean ports, still puts off in a rowboat to board incoming or outgoing vessels.[3]

In general the traveler in Plautus and Terence goes abroad in his own ship. In *Mer.* 86 ff. we read that Charinus' father had a navis cercurus specially built for him. Sometimes, however, a ship is hired or chartered. In the *Rudens* the leno sets out from Cyrene for Sicily in a navis conducta (57, 58). In *Ad.* 224, 225 Syrus says to the leno: aiunt . . . . coemisse hinc quae illuc (to

tice of courteously greeting the returned traveler is in some passages burlesqued (see *Ba.* 184–87, *Cur.* 306, 307, *Mer.* 947–50, *Ep.* 395).

Since the plays present to us pictures usually of returning, not of departing, travelers, we get few examples of farewells. Still, in *Mer.* 659 Charinus declares that he is going home to say good-by to father and mother and then go away; in 830–37 he bids an elaborate farewell to his house (cf. 866). Cf. also the farewell of the meretrix when she leaves the soldier (*Mi.* 1311–43).

[1] In *St.* 415 Epignomus himself gives a cena, at his own house, hodie, to which he invites his father-in-law. In 515 ff. his brother declines Antipho's invitation for the morrow, and says: "Come rather to my house the day after." But the play makes it plain that no love was lost between Antipho and the brothers; the old man is rather despicable. In *Heaut.* 183 Clitipho has brought Clinia home from the ship to dinner, but this dinner would have taken place independently of Clinia's coming, in connection with the Dionysia.

In *St.* 430–52, 661–65, 683 ff., two slaves, on returning with the brothers, have a cena. In *Ep.* 7, 8 we have two slaves talking: venire salvom gaudeo. quid ceterum quod eo adsolet? (*sc.* addi. I follow A, against Lindsay) cena tibi dabitur. spondeo . . . . quid? me accepturum, si dabis.

Here, too, we have burlesque at times (see *Cur.* 660, 661, *Ba.* 184–87, *Mer.* 946–50, *Mo.* 1004–7, *Am.* 153–63, 285, 286, 296, 664, 665). The passages cited just above, describing the cena of the slaves, perhaps belong here, too. With this matter of the cena, on its serious side, compare the cena given to Aeneas and the Trojans, *Aen.* i. 637–42, 695–756.

[1] In *Am.* 422 Amphitruo's seal is cum quadrigis sol exoriens.

[2] In 292 it is called *ratis*. Contrast *Men.* 442: ducit lembum dierectum navis praedatoria (in figurative expression). In a figurative expression, *Poe.* 507, corbitae are named as notoriously slow (cf. 543). In the burlesque passage, *Tr.* 942, a horiola is used, to sail up a stream.

[3] In *As.* 519 reference is made to the casteria of a ship, in *Cis.* 121, to sand ballast (saburra), in *As.* 518 to the portisculus, with which the gubernator beat time to indicate the stroke (cf. *Mer.* 695–97: in mari solet hortator remiges hortarier), all in figurative expressions. For references to the handling of a ship see *Merc.* 174 ff., 191 ff. In *Men.* 402–4, *Mi.* 915–21 we have fleeting allusions to ship-building.

Cyprus) veheres multa, navem conductam. One could take passage in a ship owned by another; the Lemnian consort of Chremes did this (*Ph.* 571, 572, 576). One could send a letter thus (*Mi.* 130, 131).[1]

Routes.—The ships of the Greeks commonly followed the coast-lines. "The most important route led northward from Aegina, Corinth, and Athens, by way of Euboea, ... Thasos, ... Imbros, Lemnos, ... to the Black Sea.[2] Here the leading traders were Miletus, and her sister-cities, with Megara, Athens, and, later, Rhodes." With this northern route the plays have little to do; the references to Euboea, Thasos, Imbros, Lemnos, Megara, and Corinth are not numerous. "Another important route," continues Mr. Edwards, "crossed the Aegean N. E. by Euboea, Chios (the great slave-mart), and Lesbos, and so reached Clazomenae and Phocaea; another, bearing eastward by the Cyclades to Miletus and Ephesus, was associated with branch lines connecting Athens and the Peloponnese with Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt." The careful reader of the geographical data collected on pp. 5–12, and of the accounts of travel in pp. 19–24, 281–93, will see that the latter route is the one which the writers of the plays have most frequently in mind, naturally, because they wrote in the time of the Diadochi, when men's thoughts had been turned to Asia and to Egypt by the achievements of Alexander and his successors.[3] "To the west the most important route circumnavigated the Peloponnese to Leucas and Corcyra, and thence struck across to Italy, Sicily, and beyond." For this route, too, the plays supply abundant evidence. Finally, we may note that the *Poenulus* points to a regular route from Carthage (and other African points) to western Greece, as the *Rudens* (629–31) points to movement between Cyrene and Capua.[4]

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[1] In *Mer.* 74, 75 a ship is referred to, metretas quae trecentas tolleret.

[2] H. J. Edwards, in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 428.

[3] Cf. Naudet on *Mer.* i. 1. 76. Philippi, Philippei (nummi) in expressions of money, point the same way; cf., e. g., *Poe.* 165, 166, 415, 558, 781, *Tr.* 955 965, 1158, etc.

[4] There is very little in the plays that throws light on the rate of travel, and to that little reference has already been made. For Harpax's quick journey from Sicyon to Athens see p. 16, n. 1; for the parasite's journey from Epidaurus to Caria see p. 6, n. 1 (latter part). If Caria is, as I have maintained in that note, the district in Asia, the time given for the round trip between Epidaurus and Caria is entirely too short. But, as I have argued there, we are not to take Plautus here seriously.

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NEW YORK, MAY 26, 1906.

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Fraternally yours in S. S. S.,

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Attest,

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362 14th Street, Brooklyn 935 East 168th Street, N. Y. 495 Rugby Road, Brooklyn

GRAND COMMANDERY OF NEW YORK
UNITED ORDER OF THE GOLDEN CROSS
OFFICE OF THE GRAND COMMANDER

NEW YORK, MAY 26, 1906.

To ALL MEMBERS, GREETING:—

By this time you have probably received a copy of a circular letter issued by the Supreme Commandery, U. O. G. C., relating to a proposed merger or union of the Order known as the Home Circle and the United Order of the Golden Cross.

You will see by this circular that this matter is to be settled by a meeting in Boston, Mass., on Thursday, June 21, 1906. At this meeting each holder of a Benefit Certificate in the U. O. G. C. is entitled to be present and to vote in person. But the fare to Boston and back is $10. Therefore few of our members will be able to attend in person. Under these circumstances, at a meeting of the Grand Commandery of New York, held May 25, 1906, it seemed best to make arrangements whereby a committee of representative members should go to Boston, to represent all the members of the Order in this State, and to take such a stand there as in their best judgment shall seem to be for the real interests of our members. If you will fill out the enclosed proxy blank and sign it, and have some other person sign as witness, and then send the blank to the G. K. R., Mr. J. Bennington Gill, 935 East 168th Street, New York City, this committee of representative members will be able to take this proxy with them and cast your vote as suggested above.

If all the members of the order in New York state will unite in filing the proxies with the G. K. R., AT ONCE, the committee will be in position to make its influence felt.

THEREFORE WITHOUT DELAY FILL OUT AND SIGN THE ENCLOSED, AND HAVE ANOTHER PERSON SIGN IT AS WITNESS AND FORWARD TO THE G. K. R. All proxies must be in by June 2. HENCE THERE IS NO TIME TO BE LOST.

Fraternally yours in S. S. S.,

THOMAS DAVIES, G. C.

Attest,

J. BENNINGTON GILL, G. K. R.
935 East 168th, St., New York City.

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